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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

January - December 1982

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the year 1982. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in January 1982)

AFRICA GENERAL

"Africa's Growing Pains." The Economist, 10 October 1981, pp. 88, 90.

Comments on a World Bank study which maintains that Africa's economic problems are solvable. The Bank recommends that African governments give agriculture top priority and make more use of the "price mechanism" so that farmers will grow more crops for market and export. Furthermore, governments should make less use of "overextended, inefficient bureaucracies," enact wide-ranging currency devaluations, and put more stress on technical education. A doubling of aid (in real terms) by the end of the 1980s coupled with changes in domestic policy could push Africa's average annual growth from one to three percent per year.

"At the Receiving End of the IMF." Africa, September 1981, pp. 42, 49.

As Africa's economic situation continues to deteriorate, the importance of the International Monetary Fund has grown. Over the past 2 years, African countries have increased their use of IMF resources by 25 percent per year; Morocco, Zaire, and Zambia have been major participants. The effect of increased Saudi contribution to the Fund is unknown, however, lending policies under the Reagan administration promise to be narrower than before.

"Business Partner Hungary." Modern Africa, October 1981, pp. 35-49.

Hungarian and African trade relations are discussed in great detail, a relationship which rose dramatically in the late 1970s. Exports to Africa include machinery, equipment, raw material, and agricultural and food products, while major Hungarian imports include agricultural and food products, raw materials, and industrial consumer goods. Management services and technical and scientific cooperation are on the rise, and almost every other aspect of economic, educational, and technical cooperation exists with many African countries.

Deutsch, T. "Afrika i Pekin (Africa and Peking)." Aziya i Afrika Segodnya (Moscow), December 1981, pp. 16-19.

Following the standard Soviet line, the author contends that China is acting as an accomplice of the imperialist powers on the African continent in an attempt to preserve their political influence and economic domination. Primary emphasis is given in the article to China's involvement in Tanzania and the Republic of South Africa by the author as she attempts to illustrate the detrimental effects on the liberation groups in southern Africa of these policies.

Guillemin, Jacques. "L'Intervention Exterieure dans la Politique Militaire de la France en Afrique Noire Francophone et a Madagascar (External Intervention in the Military Political Policy of France in Relation to Francophone

Black Africa and Madagascar)." Etudes Politiques, Economiques & Sociologiques Africaines-Le Mois En Afrique, nos. 186-87 (June-July 1981), pp. 43-58.

An analysis of French "cooperation agreements" on which much of French interventionist policy is based. This policy relates specifically to Africa and is designed to protect French interests in Africa. Scant notice is given French forces and bases in Africa. However, the French Force d'Intervention (Intervention Force) is discussed and assessed. In addition, Franco-African joint military exercises are critiqued and their strengths and weaknesses analyzed.

"La Parti Socialiste et l'Afrique Sud-Saharienne (The Socialist Party and Sub-Saharan Africa)." Etudes Politiques, Economiques & Sociologiques Africaines-Le Mois En Afrique, nos. 186-87 (June-July 1981), pp. 16-42.

An apologia of the French Socialist Party for its projected African development policy which calls for equal partnership with African countries. The author denounces the Giscardian African policy and note the importance of Africa to France's economic well-being.

"L'URSS et l'Afrique (The USSR and Africa)." Revue Africaine de Strategie, no. 7 (July-September 1980), pp. 6-13.

A detailed summary of the Soviet Union's involvement in Africa in an attempt to destabilize some countries and support liberation forces in others. An historical perspective is presented and the role of Cuba is discussed at great length.

Maiga, Mohamed. "Requiem pour le Sahel (Requiem for the Sahel)." Jeune Afrique, 16 December 1981, pp. 82-83.

1981 is another black year for the inhabitants of the Sahel as the return of drought and starvation conditions marks the failure of campaigns to rehabilitate the region. Insects destroyed what little survived the drought, and the population migrations, the exodus, will radically change demographic and political conditions in the region. And Nigeria, now inhospitable to African refugees, Ghana, under almost insoluble economic problems itself, and Ivory Coast, no longer the Mecca it once was for migrants, are ill-equipped to handle any additional influx of refugees.

Rondos, Alex. "Mitterrand's Africa Policies." Africa Report, January-February 1982, pp. 46-50.

Mitterrand has moved from rhetoric to action and campaign promises await implementation. Close relations on the Gaullist model will no longer be blatantly favoring France. Close cooperation politically as well as economically with Nigeria is the kingpin of Mitterrand's strategy while old francophone friends will be supported. Outwardly, French and American policy, the latter calling for free market conditions, diverge. However, under IMF and World Bank prodding, conditions had already been changing. Military intervention will be more difficult as political differences with Washington will make a coordinated action like Shaba more difficult.

CAMEROON

"Au Cameroun, Aucun Mode de Transport n'est Privilégie (In Cameroon, No Mode of Transportation is Singled Out)." Afrique Industrie, 1 May 1981, pp. 14-17.

In an interview with Transportation Minister M. Albert Ngome Kome, Cameroon's transportation network is discussed, including ports and trade, the railroad system, air transport, and shipping.

"Cameroon: System Under Stress." Africa Now, November 1981, pp. 30-31.

This article examines the challenges to the peace and stability of Cameroon, including the April 1981 Nigerian border conflict, student strikes in which poor living and study conditions were cited, friction with Gabon, and differences in cultural conditions stemming from the colonial past. Economic recovery may come in the form of the Victoria oil refinery.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Soudan, Francois, "Le Patron, c'est Moi (I'm the Boss)." Jeune Afrique, 16 December 1981, pp. 20-21.

In the midst of factional infighting in the ruling military committee, General Andre Kolingba declared that he was boss and that he was not interested in supporting members who wanted to right wrongs committed against them. Economic problems are the main issue Kolingba proposes to tackle. Most of the civilian political leaders have fallen into line. In the midst of palace intrigue, there are rumors that the Isrealis are being consulted.

CHAD

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Tchad: l'Armee de la Paix (Chad: The Army of Peace)." Jeune Afrique, 23 December 1981, pp. 14-20.

An analysis of the role of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) and the risk it takes in sponsoring the Peace-Keeping Force (PKF) for Chad. The clash between goals of the PKF and the recognized government of President Goukouni Oueddei means added difficulty. The OAU continually has to convince the Chadian president that Chad cannot command and direct the PKF. All in all things are better.

Forestier, Patrick, and Gysembergh, Benoit. "Les Libyans brulent tout ce qu'ils ne peuvent pas embarquer (The Libyans Are Burning Everything They Can't Load Up)." Paris Match, 27 November 1981, pp. 70-71.

An eyewitness account of the embarrassing meeting between arriving Zairian troops of the inter-African Peace-Keeping Force and the departing Libyans. The Libyan withdrawal is described as a debacle as war materiel was haphazardly loaded to be carted off to Libya. Rebel forces have made gains and the recognized government of President Oueddei is ever more dependent on the OAU (Organization of African Unity) force.

Lanne, B. "Le Sud du Tchad dans la Guerre Civile (1979-1980) (The South of Chad during the Civil War (1979-1980))." Politique Africaine, vol. 1, no. 3 (September 1981), pp. 75-89.

A chronology and analysis of the political evolution of the southern region of Chad during the civil war which isolated it from the war zone. The author concludes that the future political alinement of Chad is uncertain as the South will not readily give up its newly won autonomy where ethnic allegiance has been reinforced.

Lanne, Bernard. "Petit Dictionnaire des idees recues concernant le Chad (A Small Dictionary of Widely Accepted Ideas Concerning Chad)." Etudes Politiques, Economiques & Sociologiques Africaines: Le Mois en Afrique, nos. 186-87, (June-July 1981), pp. 132-42.

The Chad expert Bernard Lanne has taken many commonly held and mistaken notions about Chad and its history and put them straight. Simplistic ethnic divisions and designations are challenged. In addition information about the Libyan presence in the Aouzou and its chronology is provided. The evolution of traditional chiefs and their maintenance of influence is discussed.

COMORO ISLANDS

"Les Comores: Une existence difficile (The Comoros: A Difficult Existence)." Marches Tropicaux, 28 August 1981, pp. 2203-05.

The severe economic problems facing the Comoros are enumerated. The problems seem insurmountable, but the author believes the country can get back on its feet if the government's plan for the 1980s is methodically followed. Food self-sufficiency and improved communications are the focus of the government plans. Major projects include increasing corn production, improving production of cash crops for export, increasing poultry farming and fishing, improving soil quality, constructing a port at Mutsamudu, improving several airports, and increasing transportation between the islands. The author concludes that the Comoros would be better off under the French as even submitting to the labyrinthine French bureaucracy is preferable to dealing with the IMF and the maze of international organizations.

CONGO

"Brazzaville: Comment maitriser une economie petroliere (Brazzaville: How to Manage an Oil Economy)." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 6 November 1981, pp. 2800-03.

A detailed look at the Congo's economy with special emphasis on the impact on the economy of the vast oil resources and the growing gas production. The results of increasing revenue from oil production on the basically underdeveloped economy are discussed as well as the influence, both economically and politically, of the East and the West. Also examined are the uses of foreign economic aid.

ETHIOPIA

Keller, Edmond J. "Ethiopia: Revolution, Class, and the National Question." African Affairs, vol. 80, no. 321 (October 1981), pp. 519-49.

The author employs a number of analytical tools including Marxist theories, to explain why Ethiopia, which had given many indications of being one of the more viable and stable countries in Africa, could have been so violently convulsed by revolution in 1974. By examining social and ethnic factors, the stability and prosperity of Haile Selassie's Ethiopia is exposed as a myth, a myth with applications to other countries in Africa today.

"Mengistu Cracks Down on Corruption." Africa Now, December 1981, pp. 14-17.

This article discusses the extent of corruption, from minor graft at the lowest levels of administration to the abuse of power that is flagrant at the summit of the Ethiopian bureaucracy, and the leadership's unsuccessful attempts to eliminate it as a way of life.

GUINEA

Bakayoko, Ali. "Sekou, l'Islam and Dollars (Sekou, Islam and Dollars)." Jeune Afrique, 16 December 1981, pp. 16-17.

Guinean President Sekou Toure's Islamic zeal has increased with generosity of Arab petroleum exporting countries. Rumors circulate periodically that Guinea will soon be declared an Islamic Republic as daily life in Guinea comes increasingly under Qur'anic law. Islamic institutes, under the strict eye of the party, have instituted blue laws forcing Muslims to follow the prohibitions of the Qur'an. While relations with France cooled following Mitterand's election, Arab petrodollars continue to flow in. Guinea's Marxist period may soon be replaced by a new Islamic epoch.

MAURITIUS

Nurthen, William A. "Mauritius: Continuity or Watershed?" African Index, vol. 4, no. 18 (10 November 1981), pp. 69-72.

Factors which will determine the outcome of the upcoming Mauritian parliamentary election (to be held during 1982) are analyzed. The election is expected to be close. The two parties with the widest support stand at opposite ends of the political spectrum. Because of the growing strategic importance of the Indian Ocean, whether the current pro-Western leader Ramgoolam stays in power or Paul Berenger, leader of the leftist Mouvement Militant Mauricien, comes to power is of international interest. The outcome is likely to depend on successful coalition building strategy among the numerous parties. Biographical data on eight leading politicians is given.

NIGER

"Niger: Budget (1981-1982)." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 October-14 November 1981, pp. 6218-20.

An economic evaluation and projection for Niger. Development and its financing are central to Niger's economic future. Increased revenues from uranium mining and self-sufficiency in food are the immediate goals, but building a road network and increasing the industrial base are planned for the future.

NIGERIA

Dudley, Billy J. "The Nigerian Elections of 1979: The Voting Decision." Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, vol. 19, no. 3 (November 1981), pp. 276-98.

Discusses the history of the Nigerian politics leading up to the 1979 elections. Dudley's analysis of those elections focuses on the integral role ethnicity played, one which clearly showed that the aim of the framers of the constitution to eradicate ethnicity has not been realized. Contains numerous voting distribution tables.

Henderson, Robert D'A. "Nigeria: Future Nuclear Power?" Orbis, Summer 1981, pp. 409-23.

Begins with a synopsis of nuclear development on the African continent. Although Nigeria currently has no operational nuclear facility, it has set up the bureaucratic infrastructure for nuclear development and is seeking to establish a pool of trained scientists and technicians for a small-scale research center. Uranium could be obtained from neighboring Niger in whose uranium mines Nigeria has a 16 percent interest. Other African uranium producing countries could also be potential suppliers and Nigeria's own northern territories may have uranium deposits.

Ollawa, P. E. "The Nigerian Elections of 1979: A Further Comment." Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, vol. 19, no. 3 (November 1981), pp. 299-308.

A short analysis of the 1979 Nigerian elections which argues that the Nigerian electorate did not view politics solely on the basis of ethnic attachment. Suggests that should the charismatic personalities of Azikiwe (Ibo), Awolowo (Yoruba), and Aminu Kano (Hausa-Fulani commoner) leave the political arena, regional voting patterns may change discernably.

SENEGAL

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Abdou Diouf L'Homme De L'Annee (Abdou Diouf: The Man of the Year)." Jeune Afrique, 30 December 1981, pp. 22-26.

Lauded for "transforming his country," Jeune Afrique named Abdou Diouf its African Man of the Year, recognizing Diouf's move out from the shadow of former President Senghor. Diouf, the technocrat, opened the political scene

to multipartism without qualification and instilled confidence in Senegal, a country with grave economic problems. Seeking new African solutions, among them a solution to the Angola impasse, Diouf stated that given a choice" . . . between apartheid and communism, I would choose communism."

SOMALIA

"Somali Democratic Republic: United Opposition Front." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-31 October 1981, p. 6226.

An outline of the political and economic program of the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia (DFSS), newly formed from the Somali Salvation Front, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Somalia, and the Somali Workers' Party, and dedicated to the destruction of the Siad regime. In terms of foreign policy, the manifesto is interesting in that it calls for reconciliation with other Horn countries and the ouster of all forms of American influence.

SUDAN

"Sudan: Ruffles All Around." Africa Confidential, 25 November 1981, pp. 1-3.

President Nimeiri is facing growing internal threats to his rule from three fronts. Firstly, he has been forced to rely upon the military as a result of poor economic results, a need to press through an IMF-inspired economic reform program, and the effects of the Moslem fundamentalist revival in the region. The Sudanese leader has also had to contend with a rise in political unrest in the Southern Region that is bordering on rebellion. And, finally, popular unrest has grown considerably as a result of poor economic conditions and has had the effect of uniting very diverse elements, previously loyal to the regime, into a new and potentially potent opposition.

ZAIRE

Le Monde, 15-16 November 1981, pp. 5-12.

In a series of articles, the problems of Zaire are analyzed, including the economic deterioration and attempts that have been made to counter it, the expansion of communications systems (railroad, ports, trade), achievements in education, and the mortality rate caused by the poor quality of drinking water.

"La Situation economique et financiere du Zaire a fin Juin 1981 (The Economic and Financial Situation in Zaire at the end of June 1981)." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 6 November 1981, pp. 2804-07.

The economy of Zaire for the first semester of 1981 is discussed in great detail, including mining production and the agricultural, forestial, industrial and transportation-energy-telecommunications sectors. Also covered are the cooperation agreements of Zaire with other countries, financial aid from other countries, and investments made by both private and public institutions of other countries. Social issues are also discussed, and the

conclusion reviews the general economic situation for the first semester of 1981.

ZAMBIA

"Funds Are Coming Through to Upgrade Zambia's Trunk Line." Railway Gazette International, vol. 137, no. 7 (July 1981), pp. 562-63.

With a three-year investment program worth almost \$200 million from IDA, Zambia is upgrading its railroad system. This article talks about projected improvements and other sources of foreign aid in the project.

World Mining, March 1981, pp. 50-51.

In this overview of the Zambian Copperbelt, detailed information is available on cobalt production and there are some figures on copper production.

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AFRICA GENERAL

Brzoska, Michael. "The Reporting of Military Expenditures." Journal of Peace Research, vol. 18, no. 3 (1981), pp. 261-75.

Attempts to compare reporting on world military expenditures (milex) using the figures of Sivard, the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), the UN Statistical Yearbook (UNSY), and the IMF Government Financial Statistics Yearbook (GFSY). Addresses such problems as definitions of milex, the validity of government-provided figures, the possibility of standardization of milex, and inflation correction. Concludes that milex figures should not be viewed as a measure of military output but rather as an indicator of military opportunity costs. From the standpoint of accuracy, IISS figures are less reliable than ACDA or SIPRI, however ACDA does not present national currency figures, making comparison difficult. The author raises no specific criticisms about SIPRI, Sivard, UNSY, or GFSY.

Ohaegbulam, Festus Ugboaja. "Africa and Superpower Rivalry: Prospects for the Future and Possible Remedies." Journal of African Studies, vol. 8, no. 4 (Winter 1981/82), pp. 163-75.

A somewhat rambling account of the US-USSR rivalry in Africa which begins with a general discussion of the history of this competition and continues with prospects for future rivalry. The author's conclusions suggest ways to diminish superpower rivalry in Africa.

Shreeve, Gavin, et al. "SADCC: Level-Headed Approach to Huge Task." Africa Economic Digest, 13 November 1981, pp. 3-6.

One year ago some 30 nations met in Maputo, Mozambique, to pledge \$650 million for transportation development projects under the auspices of the nine-member Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). This article reviews the first year's successes of the SADCC and outlines the long-range plans of the group.

"Spies in Disarray." Africa, January 1982, pp. 33-35.

An exposé of SDECE, the French espionage and counterintelligence service in Africa. The new Socialist government found itself the victim of SDECE activities which threatened to draw France into conflict with Libya over Chad. The Mitterrand government is now purging old operatives, many of whom are legacies of DeGaulle and other previous anti-Socialist governments. Operations against African governments, both successful and unsuccessful, are described and chronicled.

ANGOLA

"Angola: New Terrorist Campaign." Africa, September 1981, pp. 20-21.

Implies that the United States (the CIA in particular) and some NATO member states have either directly or indirectly supported South African incursions into southern Angola and South African reluctance to settle the Namibian situation. The article contains some details of the July 1981 South African invasion into Cunene, Kuando, and Kubango Provinces.

Foy, Colm. "They Battle for Progress While Still Under Attack." New African, September 1981, pp. 32-33.

This pro-MPLA article states that despite the serious threat posed by the recent South African incursions into southern Angola, the MPLA government in Luanda continues to consolidate its control over Angola's political and economic life.

Lollo, Achille. "Le reve sud-african de l'Etat-tampon (The South African Dream of a Buffer State)." Jeune Afrique, 7 December 1981, pp. 37-38.

Lollo gives a general history of South African interests and involvement in southern Angola from the Portuguese colonial era to the present. Particular attention is paid to the postindependence period. Lollo recently visited southern Angola and spoke with many Angolan army officers; excerpts from these interviews are included in the article.

BOTSWANA

Laishley, Roy. "Botswana: Selebi-Pikwe Smelter 'In Trouble'." Africa Economic Digest, 22 January 1982, p. 31.

In recent years Botswana has had one of the world's fastest economic growth rates. This expansion is due primarily to diamonds, copper-nickel mining, and beef exports. However, diamond prices are depressed, there was an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in 1980-81, and there has been a drop in the worldwide demand for copper-nickel matte. Needless to say, this has had an adverse effect on the Botswana economy, especially the mining and smelting industry. The government may have to resort to short-term borrowing to keep things afloat, but the long-range picture is still bright for Botswana.

Laishley, Roy. "Botswana Faces the Chicken and Egg Problem." Africa Economic Digest, 29 January 1982, pp. 4-6.

On the African continent, Botswana's coal deposits are second only to South Africa's. This resource holds great promise as a money-making export. The major constraint to Botswana now is transportation and access to the sea. Zimbabwe's rail routes are already congested with Zimbabwe's produce; the Namibian route to Walvis Bay must await Namibian independence; and Botswana does not want to rely heavily on South African ports. Botswana now must secure financing for both coal production and rail transport. The dilemma is

that railway financiers will need assurances that enough coal will be produced to make the railway viable; while potential coal producers want assurances that Botswana has secure transport routes to get the coal to the ports.

CAPE VERDE

Eisenloeffel, Frits. "Only Aid Keeps Cape Verde Afloat." Africa Now, February 1982, pp. 92-95.

Since independence, "politically radical" Cape Verde has been rewarded with \$110 million from the international community (principally Holland and Sweden) in the form of direct support to balance of payments, food aid, and technical cooperation. During the same period, transfers from Western-based emigrants to families in Cape Verde totaled \$80 million. Much of its internally generated revenue comes from fees taken at Sal International Airport (of which South Africa contributes half). However, Cape Verde has been pragmatic in its use of aid and does not have an intolerable debt burden. Yet, without continued aid--and Holland and Sweden plan to cut back--the government will have trouble meeting its obligations.

CONGO

"Une Nouvelle Politique d'Amenagement du Territoire (A New Politic of Management of the Territory)." Afrique Industrie, 15 October 1981, pp. 58-63.

Details of the 1982-86 Five-Year Plan are given, including oil and natural gas production, agricultural projects, infrastructure construction, transportation plans, and every other aspect of the Congo's development.

ETHIOPIA

"Imperial Colonel." The Economist, 28 November 1981, pp. 34-35.

The author asserts that after 7 years of fighting, Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam has finally achieved the upper hand over several secessionist groups, and, largely because of this, has emerged virtually unchallengeable from either right or left in terms of political power. With this new confidence, Mengistu has begun to display increased independence from the Soviet Union, shown by his reluctance to establish a Soviet-style Communist party which might increase Soviet leverage by creating cadres loyal to the USSR, and by his slow response to the USSR's demands to establish state farms.

"Mengistu Gagne des Points (Mengistu Scores Some Points)." Jeune Afrique, 30 December 1981, pp. 36-37.

After more than 2 years of small victories against separatists, and by virtue of its large population and great economic potential, Ethiopia is on the verge of asserting its customary hegemony in the region of East Africa. The author believes, however, that Mengistu Haile Mariam is quite unlike Colonel Qadhafi and will not use his growing power to destabilize neighboring states.

GAMBIA

Momoh, Eddie. "Senegambia Confederation--Exchange of Marriage Vows." Africa, January 1982, pp. 28-29.

Earlier desires and attempts at some form of union or association have been frustrated by Great Britain which wanted to maintain its sphere of interest in Gambia. Development of the Gambia River, including a major dam and bridge, now has a brighter future. Major opposition to the confederation comes from groups which demanded a referendum on the question. Particularly valuable for its historical perspective.

GHANA

Asante, Ben. "The Return of Rawlings." Africa Now, February 1982, pp. 38-41.

Mostly covers familiar ground, but does offer a new slant on the details of the New Year's Eve coup. Supposedly, several weeks before, authorities rounded up 36 men of the 2d Infantry Battalion in Takoradi for planning a coup. It was discovered that these conspirators had backup men within units in Accra. Government security personnel then weeded out several men of the Reconnaissance (Recce) Regiment at Burma Camp. These disgruntled soldiers, together with others previously dismissed "and allegedly trained in Libya," decided to make their move "in a last ditch attempt to save themselves . . . from persistent persecution." They won support by claiming that Rawlings was behind the coup. It was later revealed that Rawlings was implicated in the Takoradi plot and was to be arrested by security forces.

"Ghana: One Month After." Africa Confidential, 3 February 1982, pp. 4-6.

An overriding problem for the People's National Defense Council (PNDC) in Ghana is likely to be the expectations of students and low-paid workers. PNDC Chairman Jerry Rawlings will have to form a credible economics team to get a hold on the country's desperate financial situation. Disorder within the leftwing, which is cliquish and unaccustomed to wielding power, will be a hindrance to Rawlings. Scattered fighting in military camps also does not bode well for the PNDC regime.

"Ghana: The Inevitable Coup." Africa Confidential, 6 January 1982, pp. 4-6.

Reports on the underlying causes of the overthrow of President Limann by Flight Lieutenant Rawlings. The main reasons cited are the inability of the government to put together a coherent economic program, corruption in the ruling party left unchecked by Limann, and the "unprecedented level of autonomy" that the security services seized for themselves. Suggests that Rawlings does not have the full support of the military and may find himself in the same position as Limann.

Rothchild, Donald, and Gyimah-Boadi, E. "Ghana's Return to Civilian Rule." Africa Today, vol. 28, no. 1 (1981), pp. 3-16.

Written prior to the New Year's Eve coup, this largely historical article visits well-documented territory. The authors attempt to show how various

Ghanaian regimes engaged in "legitimacy engineering," a term never clearly defined but apparently tied to public perception of regime performance. They conclude that the Limann regime has "markedly little margin for maneuver or for error."

GUINEA-BISSAU

Eisenloeffel, Frits. "Guinea-Bissau: Back to the Old Principles?" Africa Now, February 1982, pp. 21-23.

Suggests that elections will be held in the near future for a new National Assembly and a President. Members of the ruling Revolutionary Council will probably run for election to assure themselves positions of constitutional power after the Revolutionary Council is dissolved. Also discusses the role of black nationalist Rafael Barbosa in the November 1980 coup.

IVORY COAST

"Montee de la violence en Cote d'Ivoire (Rise in Violence in Ivory Coast)." Bingo, December 1981, pp. 21-22.

Economic hardship in Ivory Coast has been accompanied by an alarming increase in theft and violence. Given the large expatriate population (the majority coming from poorer African countries who accept the lowest-paying jobs), the assumed correlation between the rise in crime and the foreign origins of criminals threatens to give rise to xenophobia. Authorities are concerned but admit that budget constraints prevent an effective campaign from being fought.

KENYA

Arnold, Guy. Modern Kenya. Longman House: Burnt Hill, Harlow, Essex, 1981, 181 pp. As reviewed in Africa Economic Digest, 1 January 1982, p. 29.

"Arnold gives a clear and calm appraisal of the economy, development, agriculture, industry and commerce, politics, foreign policy, and infrastructure."

NAMIBIA

To Be Born a Nation: The Liberation Struggle for Namibia. Published for the Department of Information and Publicity of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) by Zed Press: London, 1981, 357 pp. As reviewed by Africa Economic Digest, 1 January 1982, p. 30.

"Press releases, photographs, documents, and statistics are set in a historical framework for analysis of SWAPO's argument against South Africa in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia."

NIGERIA

Joseph, Richard A. "The Ethnic Trap: Notes on the Nigerian Campaign and Elections, 1978-79." Issue, vol. 11, nos. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 1981), pp. 17-23.

An analysis of the ethnic aspects of the return to civilian rule in Nigeria. Identification with ethnic groups hindered rather than helped presidential candidates who were ultimately trapped by the ethnic perceptions of their supporters and opponents.

Koehn, Peter. "Prelude to Civilian Rule: The Nigerian Elections of 1979." Africa Today, vol. 28, no. 1 (1981), pp. 17-45.

Describes and analyses one major component in the Federal Military Government's transition strategy--the 1979 national and state elections--and considers the likely impact of electoral procedures and outcomes on political behavior in the Second Republic.

"Nigeria: Marriage of Convenience." Africa Confidential, 3 February 1982, pp. 3-4.

Focuses on the minority coalition opposed to the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN). The coalition is termed an "electoral pact" rather than a merger of the four minority parties. The Imoudou faction of the People's Redemption Party (PRP) has joined the union but the PRP faction led by Aminu Kano likely will support the NPN. Although the NPN emphasizes the lack of cohesion of the opposition, the NPN itself suffers from internecine quarreling within the various state constituencies.

"Nigeria: Publish or Be Damned." Africa Confidential, 9 December 1981, pp. 6-8.

Discusses various partisan newspapers in Nigeria and how the ruling Nigerian People's Party (NPN) is attempting to make inroads in Imo and Anambra states, predominantly Ibo areas in which the Nigerian People's Party (NPP) holds sway. At the same time, the mostly-Yoruba United Party of Nigeria (UPN) is trying to woo the NPP into an alliance.

Ojo, Olatunde J. B. "The Impact of Personality and Ethnicity on the Nigerian Elections of 1979." Africa Today, vol. 28, no. 1 (1981), pp. 47-58.

An analysis of the 1979 elections which makes the case that tribes and tribalism do not totally determine political behavior. Instead, personality, issues, and inchoate class interests have become equally important in some parts and levels of Nigerian politics. The article also discusses the salient characteristics of the 1979 elections by attempting to pinpoint the impact of personalities and socioeconomic issues and programs as motivators of the electorate.

Paden, John N. "Islamic Political Culture and Constitutional Change in Nigeria." Issue, vol. 11, nos. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 1981), pp. 24-28.

A brief but informative essay on how Islam has influenced political culture in Nigeria. Particular attention is paid to changes in the constitution initiated by Muslim groups, and the commonalities as well as conflicts between Islam and secularism in Nigeria.

Praeger, Bernard. "Yoruba Entrepreneurship." Africa, January 1982, pp. 63-64.

A historical-sociological study of the traditions and customary social organization of the Yoruba, especially in relation to trade. It looks at the pre-20th century social and religious background of a people (especially the women) who are renowned as traders today.

Schatz, Sayre P. "Nigeria's Petro-Political Fluctuation." Issue, vol. 11, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 1981), pp. 35-40.

Describes how oil revenues have produced an economic fluctuation in the Nigerian economy comparable to the business cycle in more developed capitalist economies. The article reviews the years 1973 through 1979 and attempts to show how such petro-political fluctuation influenced economic conditions in that time span.

Sklar, Richard L. "Democracy for the Second Republic." Issue, vol. 11, nos. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 1981), pp. 14-16.

Reviews the election process of the 1979 Nigerian elections and discusses the major impacts on the Nigerian political setup and on the Nigerian people by such a new election process.

Stremlau, John S. "The Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy." Issue, vol. 11, nos. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 1981), pp. 46-50.

Describes the fundamentals of Nigerian foreign policy and discusses the various outlooks of this foreign policy by showing its different applications in the world today.

Whitaker, C. S. "Second Beginnings: The New Political Framework." Issue, vol. 11, nos. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 1981), pp. 2-13.

An analysis of the 1979 Nigerian political elections which postulates that neither economics, political ideology, religion, external state relations, nor tribalism were responsible for the collapse of the old republic. The author states further that the political structure, social representation and equity, cultural integrity, and security were the major factors for political upheaval.

SOUTH AFRICA

Hitchcock, Bob. "From the Liberation Fronts: Guerrillas: Pretoria Shaken By Attacks." New African, September 1981, p. 46.

Hitchcock, "a one-time African-based military correspondent," describes in some detail recent raids and future plans and objectives of the anti-apartheid guerrillas in South Africa. The author states that the guerrillas have had some significant successes against strategic installations in South Africa, most notably the June 1980 attack on the Sasol oil-from-coal plants. He also points out that as these attacks expand throughout South Africa, the already strained capabilities of the South African Police and Armed Forces will become even more noticeable.

Little, Commander I. C. "Why Not a Supermarket Navy?" Militaria (South Africa), vol. 11, no. 2 (1981), pp. 21-27.

Naval Commander Little suggests that South Africa should break away from the traditional idea that "a warship must look like a warship." Since warships cost so much to build, since the role of the South African Navy has changed primarily to coastal defense, and since South Africa must rely on its own armaments production, better use should be made of existing South African commercial shipbuilding capabilities. Little states: "A coat of gray paint, a uniformed crew, a naval ensign, and some readily visable armament can transform any reputable commercial vessel into a businesslike and efficient warship provided that she is carefully matched to her [new] role." The article contains photos of existing South African commercial ships that might easily be transformed into warships.

Rogers, Barbara, and Bolton, Brian. Sanctions Against South Africa: Exploding the Myths. Manchester Free Press (UK) and Holland Committee on Southern Africa, 1981, 104 pp. As cited in Facts & Reports, vol. 11, no. 2, 23 December 1981, p. 3.

This pamphlet reportedly argues convincingly against South Africa's "propaganda claims" that European Economic Community (EEC) sanctions against South Africa would cause massive unemployment in Europe, that South Africa's minerals are of "strategic" importance to the EEC, that alternative sources do not exist, and that sanctions would hurt the black people of South Africa. The authors conclude that the real obstacle to EEC sanctions against South Africa is a lack of political will.

Shreeve, Gavin, et al. "Nuclear Deal Causes Red Faces in Paris." Africa Economic Digest, 20 November 1981, pp. 17-18.

The recent announcement that France is continuing to supply South Africa with enriched uranium for a nuclear power station has brought into sharp focus the West's ambivalent attitude toward Pretoria over the issue of nuclear energy and the supply of uranium. The article contains a photo of the Valindaba enrichment plant.

"U.S./South Africa: U.S. Hopeful on Talks with Pretoria." Africa News, 19 October 1981, pp. 4-5, 11-12.

Discusses the two major obstacles to better US-South African relations: the nuclear issue and Namibian independence. The author concludes that the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa may overcome or at least substantially reduce tensions between the two states and improve the chances to resolve these differences.

Weinberg, E. Portrait of a People: A Personal Photographic Record of the South African Liberation Struggle. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1981. As cited in Sechaba (London), July 1981, pp. 31-32.

Weinberg reportedly lived in South Africa for several years. This book is a collection of photos depicting antiapartheid movements in South Africa.

SUDAN

"Food Riots Hit Khartoum." 8 days (London), 16 January 1982, p. 18.

President Nimeiri's plans to subdivide the South into three provinces along the lines of the newly instituted federalism in the North will have to be shelved indefinitely because of the food riots and other problems in his own backyard--Khartoum. Many of his critics argue that the plans are aimed at emasculating the political power of the southerners.

"Revolutions in the Revolution." Africa, January 1982, p. 32.

A balanced analysis of the recent cabinet changes undertaken by President Nimeiri in November with special emphasis given to the economic basis for the breakup and future political ramifications, most notably, severe disillusionment among the Sudanese public.

UGANDA

"Uganda: Is It Bleeding to Death?" Africa News, 14 December 1981, pp. 2-4, 10.

An overview of Uganda's security and economic problems. Background information on the various armed groups fighting Obote's government is provided. Government forces are blamed for most of the violence in the country; there is fighting between factions within the army, between the army and the police force, and victimization of civilians by soldiers. Obote has set up a security committee which will try to deal with the army's violence. And economic revitalization of the country is hindered by the security situation. The article concludes, "recovery poses a very real 'chicken-and-egg' puzzle, for there appears little chance of attaining economic progress without better security, and equally poor prospects for law and order without economic stability."

ZAMBIA

Howard, Carol. "Zambia's Budget Provides Incentives for Exporters." Africa Economic Digest, 5 February 1982, pp. 2-3.

With Zambia's copper-based economy in serious trouble and the foreign exchange shortage getting worse, Zambia has concentrated on boosting incentives to exporters and providing a fresh injection of cash to get the economy moving.

Richards, M. Nelson. "Experiment on Rural Development in an African State: Zambia, the Chunga Irrigation Scheme." Journal of African Studies, vol. 8, no. 2 (Winter 1981/82), pp. 146-62.

Provides a history of Zambia from independence in 1964 and the effect of Zambian politics on the agricultural sector. The Chunga Irrigation Scheme was conceived in 1970 by the National Council for Scientific Research as a method of enabling small-scale family farmers to be productive throughout the year instead of during the 4 months of rain.

ZIMBABWE

Shreeve, Gavin, and Leslie-Smith, Ian. "Tiger Reef's Gold--A Sophisticated Bootstrap and Bucket Operation." Africa Economic Digest, 22 January 1982, pp. 6-9.

A rather detailed article (including several excellent maps) concerning gold production in Zimbabwe. According to the authors, "gold is Zimbabwe's most important metal."

Shreeve, Gavin. "Zimbabwe--EEC Consultants Line Up." Africa Economic Digest, 29 January 1981, pp. 2-3.

Zimbabwe wants to exploit its considerable coal reserves mainly for domestic consumption but also with a view to exports. The Salisbury government first wants to develop long-term plans, primarily with European assistance. Various EEC consulting firms are anxious to secure a fair share of this lucrative project. This article also contains specifics on Zimbabwe's coal industry to date.

Shreeve, Gavin, and Leslie-Smith, Ian. "Zimbabwe Moves to Control Mining Industry." Africa Economic Digest, 22 January 1982, pp. 2-4.

True to its word, the Mugabe government has made no move to nationalize any Zimbabwean mining companies. However, on 19 January 1982, the Minister of Mines introduced a bill which would create a Mineral Mining Corporation (MCC). The bill gives the MCC wide power to control all mineral production in Zimbabwe, apart from gold which is sold directly to the Zimbabwe Reserve Bank. Many mining firms regard this move as "backdoor nationalization." This article presents both the governmental and company views on the bill.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in March 1982)

AFRICA GENERAL

Duner, Bertil. "Proxy Intervention in Civil Wars." Journal of Peace Research, vol. 18, no. 4 (1981), pp. 353-61.

The author tries to identify criteria in a proxy relationship and briefly reviews the work of other writers in this context. Duner argues that a definition of a proxy relationship must be formulated in terms of power. He examines Cuba's role in Angola, Ethiopia, and Oman and decides that in all cases it is impossible to demonstrate that Cuba acted as the proxy of the Soviet Union. Also examined is Morocco's participation as a proxy of France in the Shaba rescue operations, and South Africa's role in the Angolan civil war as a proxy of the United States.

Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences. Velikiy Oktyabr i Afrika (The Great October [Revolution] and Africa). Moscow: Nauka Publishers, 1980, 279 pp. Reviewed in International Affairs (Moscow), December 1981, pp. 122-24.

A Soviet overview of Socialist achievements in Africa with special emphasis given to the USSR's economic and technical assistance to national liberation movements. Also discussed are the forms of politico-economic systems that Socialist-oriented regimes in Africa should adopt to ensure success.

Larus, Joel. "Diego Garcia: Political Clouds Over a Vital U.S. Base." Strategic Review, Winter 1982, pp. 44-55.

The strategic importance of Diego Garcia as an air-naval base for the United States is emphasized, in view of problems arising from the claim of Mauritius on the island and Mauritian protests about its current use, even though the island theoretically is now the possession of Great Britain.

"Senegal River Scheme--Funds Start to Flow." Africa Economic Digest, 4 December 1982, pp. 2-3.

The Organization for the Development of the Senegal River Valley has received promises of funding for its ambitious but controversial project. Present cost projections are presented and contracts for much of the work have been let. Assistance for transportation infrastructure will be an added bonus, as roads and railroads must be upgraded to transport materials to the dam sites.

"Southern Africa: The Cool War." Financial Mail (South Africa), 30 October 1981, pp. 526-28.

The "cool war" describes the current economic war going on between South Africa and her neighbors, Zimbabwe in particular. Although South Africa denies that it is trying to destabilize its neighbors, recent developments have shown that South African economic muscle is a very serious factor in the

stability or instability of the region. The article contains excerpts from an interview with the South African Director General of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Brand Fourie.

"Soviets Focus on Control of Oil Flow From Region." Aviation Week and Space Technology, 14 December 1981, pp. 48-54.

The military positioning of Soviet forces in Africa is examined from the point of view that the Soviet Union is attempting to move closer to control of the West's oil flow.

Sow, Sadio Lamine. "Leur Dernier Bataille (Their Last Battle)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1105, 5 March 1982, pp. 66-67.

France has an old tradition of conscripting Africans to serve alongside Frenchmen in its wars. With African independence, many anciens combattants, army veterans from Africa, saw their pension rights eroded. The over 600,000 veterans at the end of World War II number only half that now, and with support from their French colleagues, some adjustments have been made. Their political influence is strong and pressures continue to be put on the Mitterrand government to grant pensions at par with French veterans.

"Ungleiche Verträge (Unequal Treaties)." Der Spiegel, 5 October 1981, pp. 162, 164-165, 167.

Numerous examples of how the Soviet Union and Cuba exploit African countries through bilateral treaties, loans, and "development aid" are given. Countries which depend on Soviet or Cuban military personnel, notably Angola, pay heavily. In the Luanda area about 150 factories have been dismantled and shipped to Cuba. Many countries are now obligated to sell raw materials and agricultural products to the East for far less than they could get on the world market. The Soviets have been particularly successful in obtaining unlimited fishing rights from African countries, and the high technology fishing methods they use are rapidly destroying fishing grounds. Socialist African leaders are finally realizing that the Soviets are more capitalistic than the capitalists.

ANGOLA

"Angola: Unhappy UNITA Fighters." Africa Now, November 1981, pp. 22-23.

This pro-MPLA, anti-UNITA/South Africa article states that South Africa is trying to create a UNITA state in southern Angola. The South African-backed troops are a mixture of mercenaries, former Portuguese colonial troops from Angola, and UNITA and FNLA supporters. These troops are paid by South Africa and led by South African officers. The article concludes that most of these troops suffer from morale problems.

Soudan, Francois. "La guerre du bush (The Bush War)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1079, 9 September 1981, pp. 22-24.

A rather detailed article including maps and photos of the June 1981 South African incursion into southern Angola.

BURUNDI

Gautrand, Jacques, and Kaidi, Hamza. "Un Colonel Bien Sage (A Very Prudent Colonel)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1100, 3 February 1982, pp. 32-33.

In the 5 years of his presidency, Jean-Baptiste Bagaza has transformed the country from civil war and chaos to a place of tranquility. Included in this article are excerpts from an interview with Bagaza discussing his economic and political policies.

CHAD

Forestier, Patrick, and Gysembergh, Benoit. "Les Libyans brulent tout ce qu'ils ne peuvent pas embarquer (The Libyans are burning everything they can't load up)." Paris Match, 27 November 1981, pp. 70-71.

A descriptive account replete with photos of the departure of Libyan troops from Chad. Zairian troops arrived while Libyans were loading equipment, creating a tense situation. In an attempt to take everything remotely resembling military equipment, the Libyan evacuation was chaotic. Supplies which could not be dumped into planes were burned rather than left for the Chadians.

Lemarchand, Rene. "Chad: The Roots of Chaos." Current History, December 1981, pp. 414-17, 436-38.

Probably the best assessment of the Chad crisis in English, Lemarchand summarizes historical conditions which gave rise to civil war in Chad. He explains away the simplistic north-south dichotomy by exposing the complex ethnic matrix that is Chad. Written before the Libyan evacuation, the conclusions have been superceded, but personalities and circumstances highlighted remain operative.

"No Solution Yet in Chad." Africa Now, April 1982, pp. 56-57.

The Organization of African Unity's peacekeeping force has been able to avoid confrontation with Chadian armed factions, but the Chad Government remains unsatisfied. The Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT) expected the OAU force to help it militarily against the 'rebels,' which it has refused to do. Attempts to get the sides to negotiate have failed and proposed timetables for withdrawal of the force have further turned the Chad Government against the OAU. Southerners are increasingly discouraged by GUNT's politics. However, for the moment, the African force still has a chance to prove itself capable of maintaining peace on the continent.

COMORO ISLANDS

"Le Coup de Main de Bob (Bob's Surprise)." Afrique-Asie, no. 256, 4 January 1982, pp. 35-36.

The possible role of Bob Denard (the leader of the mercenaries who have taken up part-time residency in the Comoros since the coup d'etat of May 1978) in

the aborted Seychelles coup is discussed, including his influence in the Comoros and his close relationship with President Ahmed Abdallah.

CONGO

"Contradictions in the Congo." West Africa, 23 November 1981, pp. 2777-79.

Explains the relationships between the Congo and France and the USSR and Cuba. While the USSR and Cuba are entrenched politically in the Congo, Eastern bloc countries only provide about 1.5 percent of Congolese imports. Improved relations with France have come about due to oil and aid, but oil is running low and the Congo must develop other industries.

DJIBOUTI

"Djibouti: Gouled's Tightrope." Africa Confidential, 11 November 1981, p. 8.

In late 1981 Djibouti became a one-party state. Since independence from France in 1977, only one party has been in existence, the ruling Popular Rally for the Republic (RPR) led by President Hassan Gouled Aptidon, that by and large furthers the interests of the Somali-speaking Issa majority. Yet, constitutionally there was room for other political parties until Ahmed Dini and other Afars sought to form a party. However, the Constitution was quickly amended and the political arena restricted to the RPR. Unless Gouled acts to channel the Afar pressure through his own party in the near future, the opposition is likely to seek other means of expression.

ETHIOPIA

"Ethiopia: North-East Under Siege." Africa Confidential, 3 February 1982, pp. 1-3.

In tandem with the major military offensive against the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in Eritrea, the Ethiopian regime has also launched a political and economic program in the insurgent province called "Operation Red Star." This program involves substantial economic investments in industry, housing, health, and agriculture, largely funded by Libya. With the promise of these material gains, Chairman Mengistu hopes that the Eritrean insurgency will melt away.

"Ethiopia: Pragmatism Prevails." Africa Confidential, 9 December 1981, pp. 4-6.

Ethiopia's halting steps to form a Socialist political party have upset and frustrated the Soviet Union and East Germany, two of the Addis Ababa regime's major backers. A party might yet be formed, however, not because of the pressure from the Socialist bloc or from pro-Soviet members of the ruling dergue, but because of the political threat from without, especially the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Ethiopia (DFLE). This article describes the DFLE's aims, chief among them the overthrow of Mengistu and the dergue, and a call for a united front with the various nationality groups. Also described is this organization's membership, or what can be detected from the scant information that has been made public.

GAMBIA

Bentsi-Enchill, Nii K. "The Senegalese Intervention in Gambia." African Defense, February 1982, pp. 44-45.

Details of the military operations of the Senegalese Army which put down an attempted coup in Gambia are provided by Bentsi-Enchill's interview with Colonel Ngom, the Senegalese officer who commanded the operation.

GUINEA

Diallo, Siradiou. "Les Illusions Perdues (Lost Illusions)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1100, 3 February 1982, pp. 30-31.

Franco-Guinean relations, soured since 1960, had taken a turn for the better. However, revelations by Guinea that jailed Guineans married to French women had been executed created more problems than they solved. First of all, the information was riddled with contradictions, and second, the newly found humanitarian guise of Sekou Toure suffered irreparably by the episode. Toure had earlier insulted Mitterrand by calling him a "Nazi" and "bandit," and the revelations concerning the spouses of French women have furthered poisoned an already tense atmosphere.

IVORY COAST

Diallo, Siradiou. "Cote D'Ivoire: Une Annee Tres Difficile (Ivory Coast: A Very Difficult Year)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1104, 3 March 1981, pp. 14-15.

1982 promises to be a trying year for Ivory Coast. Widespread unemployment among graduates, instability generated by the President's refusal to name a successor, and ethnic tensions have worsened as the country's economic crisis continues. Houphouet-Boigny's paternalistic rule has brought prosperity but the downturn is viewed also as his responsibility.

"Ivory Coast: France versus America." Africa Confidential, 17 February 1982, pp. 6-8.

The discovery of oil in the Ivory Coast by American companies threatens the overwhelming French influence there. Long considered a stable haven for capitalism in West Africa, American companies have increasingly chosen Abidjan as headquarters for continent-wide trade. The French suspect that US AID assistance, so far predominantly multilateral, will become more bilaterally oriented. The role of the IMF and the World Bank as well as loans from Chase Manhattan Bank indicate a growing American financial power. Coupled with Ivorian resentment of French expatriates, continued French dominance is in question.

LESOTHO

"Lesotho: Botha Stirs Pot of Conflict." Africa, January 1982, p. 30.

Although Lesotho is an independent state, in the final analysis it is easily manipulated by neighboring South Africa. The economic and political stability of Lesotho is indirectly controlled by Pretoria. Over half of

Lesotho's adult male population is working in South Africa at any one time. And Pretoria tolerates (if not supports) the insurgent Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) against the Maseru government.

MADAGASCAR

Andriamirado, Sennen. "L'Imagination au Pouvoir (The Power of the Imagination)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1102, 17 February 1982, pp. 36-37.

The problems of internal security in Madagascar are examined in this article, including the recurrence over the last 7 years of coup attempts.

MALI

"Why the Sahel Suffers." Africa News, 11 January 1982, pp. 8-11.

A special Dutch-Malian research effort examining conditions in the Sahel has concluded that the region properly should be the domain of livestock raising. However, competition from the growing farm population has destroyed the balance of nature. Schemes of reforestation to retard erosion will be unsuccessful, and even pastoral development programs, if implemented, have little chance of success given money constraints for development.

MAURITANIA

"Mauritania: Diversification into Mining." The Arab Economist, (Beirut), vol. XLII, no. 147 (December 1981), pp. 28-29.

For years, Mauritania's faltering economy has relied on its agricultural sector, which provides about 25 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product. However, domestic food production is insufficient for the country's needs, and so Mauritania is obliged to import the greater part of its food needs. In an effort to diversify the economy, the government has been striving to boost the mining sector. By far the largest and most important resources are iron ore, gypsum, and, until 1978, copper. Mauritania is pinning much of its hopes on iron. Total reserves at the new mines at El-Rhein and Oum Arwagen are sufficient to safeguard Mauritania's position as a major iron ore producer until the next century.

MAURITIUS

"Interview with Paul Berenger." Afrique-Asie, no. 256, 4 January 1982, pp. 33-35.

Paul Berenger, General Secretary of the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), talks about the devaluation of the rupee, the visits to Washington of the Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Mauritius, and his confidence about the victory of the MMM in the impending elections which would result in his position as Finance Minister. He also discusses projected MMM programs and the MMM-PSM (Mauritian Socialist Party) coalition.

M'Haruia, Jonathan. "Un Marche Commun Pour l'Ocean Indien (A Common Market for the Indian Ocean)." Afrique-Asie, no. 257, 18 January 1982, pp. 58-59.

The Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) has always sanctioned a reaffirmation of economic and commercial ties between the Indian Ocean countries (Seychelles, Madagascar, Comoros, Reunion, Mauritius). MMM General Secretary Paul Berenger has used his friendship with Seychelles President Rene to develop a trading agreement, and established, along with two other MMM members, Intracorp (Intra Regional Trading Corporation) to open trade among all Indian Ocean countries.

MOZAMBIQUE

"Purge of the Security Forces." Africa, December 1981, pp. 39-40.

President Samora Machel announced in November the launching of a program to purge the security and armed forces of those who misuse power and commit crimes. He said such behavior reflected the survival of the values of colonial-capitalist and tribal-feudal societies. The program will stress strict application of laws on powers of arrest and periods of remand.

NAMBIA

"Namibia: The Independence Maze." Africa Confidential, 9 December 1981, pp. 1-3.

The terms "maze" and "jigsaw puzzle" are aptly used to describe the Contact Group's attempts to gain acceptance of Namibian independence from both South Africa and the Frontline States (including Nigeria). The road to independence rests on a complicated three part plan including preindependence acceptance of basic constitutional guarantees and election rules, plans for UN supervision of a South African withdrawal from Namibia, and the actual implementation of the final settlement. Despite the fragile appearance of the independence situation, it is likely that positive steps will ultimately lead to a free Namibia sometime in either late 1982 or possibly 1983.

"Namibia: Third Force?" The Economist, 20 February 1982, pp. 57-58.

Discusses the short- and long-term implications of the recent split in the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in Namibia. DTA President Peter Kalangula's decision to pull out of the Alliance deprives the DTA of its "critically important" Ovambo support. Kalangula's National Democratic Party furthermore may draw other black parties out of the DTA. This new grouping would then rival SWAPO and the South African-backed DTA in importance as Namibia approaches independence. However, this development could cause South Africa to delay the Namibian settlement, as the DTA was South Africa's greatest hope as a counterbalance to SWAPO in a free Namibia.

NIGERIA

Awolowo, Obafemi. Path to Nigerian Greatness. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1981.

A collection of 16 speeches made by Chief Obafemi Awolowo between September 1978 and December 1980. A good insight into Nigerian domestic politics and political thinking from a man who intends to run for office in the 1983 presidential election.

"Nigeria: The Kwara Syndrome." Africa Confidential, 11 November 1981, pp. 2-3.

Analyzes the political battle being waged in Kwara State within the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). Powerful NPN State Chairman and Federal Senate leader Olusola Saraki is locked in a dispute with Kwara State Governor Alhaji Adamu Atta. Saraki's immense wealth was primarily responsible for the NPN's victory in largely Yoruba Kwara and for putting President Shagari over the two-thirds majority needed for election. Interestingly, Saraki is considered a potential rival to Shagari in the 1983 elections.

REUNION

"La Reunion: Sous le Vent du Changement (Reunion: Under the Winds of Change)." Le Monde, 13 March 1982, pp. 11-20.

In this comprehensive article on Reunion, the political climate is examined, as well as the factors influencing the economy, including sugar cane production and other agricultural sectors. There are interviews with representatives of the various parties of Reunion.

SENEGAL

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Abdou Diouf: L'Homme de l'Annee (Abdou Diouf: Man of the Year)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1095, 30 December 1981, pp. 22-27.

Jeune Afrique has named Abdou Diouf its Man of the Year in recognition of his transformation from a technocrat into an astute politician. Part biography and part interview, the article contains Diouf's thoughts on a range of African problems. He hopes that Qadhafi will change, but doubts he will. Senegal's recognition of Angola was foreshadowed by Diouf's responses. Diouf modestly acknowledges his debt to the older generation of African leaders: Senghor, Sekou Toure, Houphouet-Boigny.

Brione, Bernard. "Senegambie: Illusion Ou Necessite? (Senegambia: Illusion or Necessity)." Defense Nationale, October 1981, pp. 168-71.

Relations between Senegal and Gambia are assessed and analyzed. Many similarities exist between the two countries. They are populated by the same ethnic groups, both are multiparty democracies, and both have monocultures (peanuts). The entire region is in a state of "permanent conspiracy" with urban youths without specific ideology seeking to destabilize through violence.

SIERRA LEONE

"Sierra Leone: On Closing an Era." Africa Confidential, 17 February 1982, pp. 4-6.

Speculates that President Stevens, despite previous false retirements, may actually step down soon. First Vice President S. I. Koroma is the front-runner to succeed Stevens in spite of Koroma's poor health. Other possible candidates are mentioned including Jengo Stevens, the President's ambitious son, who, if chosen, may lead Sierra Leone into civil war. Exiled opposition groups and their leaderships are also discussed.

SOUTH AFRICA

Hanks, Robert J. The Cape Route: Imperiled Western Lifeline (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc., 1981), 84 pp. As reviewed in A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, vol. 14, no. 2 (1981-82), p. 104.

The Cape Route primarily is a "technical discussion of naval assets and liabilities of the West and the Soviet Union, and respective strategic positions regarding the Indian and Atlantic Oceans." In essence, it is a very gloomy outlook regarding Western security vis-a-vis the Cape's sea route. The reviewer is very critical of the lack of political analysis regarding South Africa. He insists that the West's interests are best served by trying to support reform in South Africa rather than giving in to apartheid for immediate short-term access to the naval facilities at Simonstown. He also points out that France's naval presence in the Indian Ocean is a Western asset and should not be overlooked.

"South Africa: Ciskei's 'Independence'." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-31 December 1981, pp. 6279-81.

In addition to a brief history of the Ciskei homeland and details on the ethnic composition of the area, this article discusses both internal South African and international political issues. Subunits of the article are entitled: "Ciskei 'Independence,'" "Advice Ignored," "OAU's Condemnation," and "US Refuses Recognition."

Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa. South Africa: Time Running Out. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, 517 pp. As reviewed in A Current Bibliography on Africa Affairs, vol. 14, no. 2 (1981-82), pp. 102-04.

This Rockefeller Foundation-sponsored report discusses various aspects and alternatives for US policies (both political and economic) vis-a-vis South Africa. Although the review is very critical of certain gaps in the study, it concludes that the report is an "important and timely contribution to the continuing debate over US-South African relations which is must reading by layman and specialist alike."

SUDAN

"The South: Divide to Unite?" Sudanow, November 1981, pp. 15-18.

Analysis of President Numairi's handpicked team, headed by Major-General Gasmallah Abdalla Rassas, that will supervise the referendum soon to be held in the Southern Region. This election will decide whether the Southern Region should be divided into more regions with autonomous legislative powers.

"Sudan: Regime Survives on Weakness of Opposition." The Middle East Reporter, 16 January 1982, pp. 14-16.

In his 12 years in power, President Numairi has survived attempted coups d'etat, assassination bids, and a wide range of domestic troubles with rivals and opponents. And in the realm of foreign affairs he has often found his policies opposed by other regional powers, both Muslim and non-Muslim, and by the USSR. Yet Numairi has survived due to the disunity, disorganization, and lack of cooperation among the various forces that oppose him. The domestic groups with which he must contend are the Sudanese Communist Party, the National Unionist Party, Al Mahdi and his Umma Party, the Muslim Brotherhood Organization, the Baathists, and the Nasserites.

Warburg, Gabriel. Islam, Nationalism, and Communism in a Traditional Society: The Case of Sudan. London: Frank Cass 1978, pp. 264. Reviewed by Peter Woodward in Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 18, no. 1 (January 1982), pp. 124-25.

This book consists of three essays which relate to the themes referred to in the title and elaborate on the author's belief of an overwhelming impact of popular Islam on Sudanese political culture.

SWAZILAND

"Swaziland: No Apparent Heir." Africa Confidential, 9 December 1981, pp. 3-4.

On 4 September 1981, Swaziland celebrated the diamond jubilee of King Sobhuza II. As yet, his successor has not been chosen. The heir is selected by the Swazi National Council from among the King's numerous sons (reportedly numbering in the hundreds). Five possible choices are listed, although there are many other contenders. The article continues with an overview of the Swazi political scene including serious charges of widespread corruption by officials close to the King and a recent series of ritual murders involving some high-placed individuals. Concludes with a brief overview of recent major economic developments.

TOGO

"The New Togo." Africa Now, February 1982, pp. 45-53.

Although this series of short articles actually is an official advertisement of the Togo Government projecting a rosy picture for Togo's future, much

information on existing infrastructure and development plans is provided. Togo is presented as an African Switzerland, a refuge for political mis-fortunates, and a country soon to be known for its prosperity.

UPPER VOLTA

"An Uneasy Truce with Labor." Africa News, 25 January 1982, pp. 8-10.

Upper Volta is unique among African countries in having a powerful labor union movement. Although the unions initially supported the latest military coup, the honeymoon was short; the government banned strikes in the face of strong labor criticism. In addition, living conditions have worsened since the military took over.

ZAIRE

"Le 312eme Bataillon Parachutiste Zairois en Stage Commando a Kota-Koli (The 312th Zairean Parachute Battalion in Training at Kota-Koli)." Freres d'Armes, no. 114, January-February 1982, pp. 24-27.

Describes the July 1981 training program conducted by the 312th Parachute Battalion at the Kota-Koli training area in the Equatorial Region of Zaire.

ZAMBIA

"Zambia's Copper: How to Stop the Rot." Africa Now, February 1982, pp. 88-89.

In view of the continuing drop in the real value of copper on the world market, Zambia faces numerous problems in foreign exchange earnings. Copper is the powerhouse driving Zambian development, forcing Zambia to step up its investment and productivity in the Copperbelt.

ZIMBABWE

"Zimbabwe: Exit Nkomo." The Economist, 20 February 1982, pp. 56-57.

A brief analysis of Prime Minister Mugabe's decision to oust his former political ally Joshua Nkomo from the Zimbabwe Government. The article reviews the various charges leveled against Nkomo prior to his dismissal. Mugabe is most anxious to establish a single party state in Zimbabwe; his success and the stability of his government will depend on how he handles the situation from now on.

"Zimbabwe: White Exodus." Intelligence Digest World Report, 1 February 1981, pp. 6-7.

Despite its remarkable economic recovery since independence, Zimbabwe faces major problems including widespread government waste, continued white exodus from Zimbabwe, and rising crime rates. In addition, the new government has redirected the focus of education away from technical skills and toward political indoctrination and multiple language requirements (English, Shona and Ndebele). Zimbabwe also faces serious health problems as the government

has abolished private medical practice and private nursing homes and hospitals. Most young whites who have not as yet established themselves in careers and homes are leaving Zimbabwe; those who remain are more often than not elderly. The overall tone is very critical of the new black government in Salisbury, emphasizing the importance of whites in Zimbabwe's long-range future.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in April 1982)

AFRICA GENERAL

Austin, Dennis. "Things Fall Apart." Orbis, vol. 25, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 925-47.

A cataloging of failures in postindependence Africa. The analysis, a pessimistic picture of human rights violations and failures to achieve functioning democracies, concludes with a bleak prognosis. While outside influences contributed to Africa's malaise, most problems and deficiencies originated internally.

Barnaby, Frank. "Guerra Chiavi in Mano (Tools of War)." Nigrizia, no. 11 (December 1981), pp. 27-37.

Written by the Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, this article presents detailed statistics of arms expenditures by the countries of Africa and the sources of their imports.

Bienven, Henry S. "Military Rule and Military Order in Africa." Orbis, vol. 25, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 949-65.

Examines the mix of military and civilian regimes in Africa. While the role of the military in domestic politics remains highly variable, military factors are increasingly important in Africa and play a vital role in Africa's international relations as well as in domestic politics.

Copson, Raymond W. "African Flashpoints: Prospects for Armed International Conflict." Orbis, vol. 25, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 903-24.

The author identifies four major flashpoints--the regions bordering South Africa and Namibia, the Horn of Africa, Libya's borders (or the borders of Libya's sphere of influence), and Morocco's borders--where potential exists for international conflict in the upcoming decade. Elsewhere on the continent, however, he sees little prospect for armed conflict due to the modest capabilities of the states and the reluctance of black African regimes to become involved in costly and potentially mutually destabilizing disputes.

Devoto, Gianluca. "Arms Export to the Third World: A Controversial Market." Politica Internazionale, Summer 1980, pp. 131-38.

Outlines major arms deals between Italian weapons producers and many African and Middle Eastern states. Until recently, Italian arms sales did not seem to be determined by a clearly defined policy; deals were approved at the administrative, rather than legislative or executive, level. Consequently, Italy has supplied sophisticated weapons to many African and Middle Eastern armed forces indiscriminately. Now the attitude of the Italian administration is to give cautious but substantive support to arms exports with as little publicity as possible.

Forrest, Tom. "Brazil and Africa: Geopolitics, Trade and Technology in the South Atlantic." African Affairs, vol. 81, no. 322 (January 1982), pp. 3-20.

A viable "South-South" trading network between Brazil and African countries has not developed. The forces which seek to expand Brazilian trade with Africa are the same operating in other exporting countries. The Brazilian share of African markets is still modest and not likely to increase measurably. Brazil has a pragmatic policy regarding trade and South Africa is its largest trading partner in Africa.

Radu, Michael. "Ideology, Parties, and Foreign Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa." Orbis, vol. 25, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 967-92.

A valuable and insightful analysis of the Marxist-Leninist regimes in Africa. Among the points made by the author are that the regimes have developed political structures that are being steadily consolidated, and that this consolidation is made possible largely by assistance from the Soviet bloc. He also identifies a process of ideological escalation in which the regimes move leftward in response to internal threats and in the process uproot moderate groups and classes, making it impossible to return to free or mixed economic, hence political, systems in the future.

Railway Gazette International, July 1981, pp. 551-67.

This issue contains a series of articles which discuss South Africa's continued dominance of the railroad infrastructure throughout southern Africa. A good map of the entire southern African rail system and numerous photos are included.

Ring, Paul. "La Marine Dans l'Ocean Indien (The Navy in the Indian Ocean)." Armees d'aujourd'hui (Paris), no. 68 (March 1982), pp. 18-19.

A brief discussion and description of the purpose and composition of the French Naval Forces in the Indian Ocean (F.M.O.I./Forces Maritimes de l'Ocean Indien).

Stokeld, Frederick W. "Africa and Foreign Assistance: Using Scarce Resources Wisely." Orbis, vol. 25, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 993-1009.

An examination of African economic problems and prospects focusing on the role of foreign assistance programs in promoting economic development. The inadequacy of traditional aid programs is addressed and the author espouses a traditional position favoring private investment, citing the often dismal failure of public corporations to either meet the needs of the country or make profits.

CHAD

"Chad: Peace Timetable Adopted." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-28 February 1982, pp. 6335-38.

A summary of recent events and analyses on the Chad situation. Especially important is the inclusion of Algerian inputs and points of view on the OAU's

demands for a cease-fire and open negotiations between the combatants. Algeria demands that the OAU force maintain order and support the Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT).

Faure, Christian. "Tchad: Mitterrand Mise Sur le Meme Mauvais Cheval . . . Comme Pompidou et Giscard (Chad: Mitterrand Betting on the Same Losing Horse . . . Like Pompidou and Giscard)." Paris Match, 19 February 1982, pp. 96-97.

Contrary to all predictions and much to the embarrassment of the French, Hissene Habre is close to a total comeback in Chad. President Mitterrand's "Africans," his African experts with good Socialist Party credentials who had served in other governments, promised to change French relations to Africa and use Chad as a springboard. They have repeated the mistakes of previous governments. Past French actions in Chad were filled with both moral and political contradictions, and Habre's successes complicate French motives and actions.

Guillerez, Bernard. "Le Chad Apres Le Retrait Libyen (Chad After the Libyan Retreat)." Defense Nationale, January 1982, pp. 174-77.

An attempt by the author to divine what would happen in Chad after the Libyan retreat. The value of the article, however, lies in the background it provides to circumstances and events leading up to the evacuation of Libya from Chad.

Soudan, Francois. "L'Eternal Retour (The Endless Returns)." Jeune Afrique, 7 April 1982, pp. 38-39.

A series of defeats followed by comebacks characterizes the career of Hissene Habre, the Chad rebel whose spectacular current successes threaten the OAU-sponsored Chad Government, the OAU itself, and French policy in Africa. A man without formal military training, Habre is the best tactician and political organizer among the factional leadership. He wants power, and his first loyalty is not to nation, tribe, or family but to himself.

CONGO

Pearson, Bryan. "Frustration Lies Behind Contented Brazzaville." New African, October 1981, pp. 30-31.

Despite its oil income, the population of the Congo has yet to receive promised rewards. Unlike most other African countries, employment is not based on agriculture, although agricultural production is falling. Politically, the Congo suffers from a north-south division.

Masson, Francoise' and de Schaetzen, Yves. "Une Interview Exclusive du Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President de la Republic Populaire du Congo (An Exclusive Interview with Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the People's Republic of the Congo)." Afrique Industrie, 15 January 1982, pp. 39-72.

President Sassou-Nguesso talks about the effects of neocolonialism on the economy of the Congo and the constant battle to extricate the economy from

crises. He also discusses oil production and its role in the economy. Following the interview is a detailed section on all aspects of the new 1982-86 economic plan.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Pennell, Richard. "Spanish Return to Equatorial Guinea." Africa Now, April 1982, p. 93.

Spain's vast economic and military aid to Equatorial Guinea since the 1979 coup against Macias Nguema is seen more or less like a return to "colonial rule." The article notes that even Equatorial Guinea's best hope for economic independence--the recent discovery of offshore oil--is under Spanish control.

ETHIOPIA

Davidson, Basil; Cliffe, Lionel; and Habte-Salssie, Bereket, eds. Behind the War in Eritrea. Nottingham: Spokesman, 1980. Reviewed by Jordan Gebre-Medhin in Horn of Africa, vol. 4, no. 3, n.d., pp. 40-41.

A collection of essays dealing with contemporary issues regarding the Eritrean situation. One novel thesis put forth by a contributor is that only a defeat of the Addis Ababa regime in its war against Eritrean secessionists will make it possible to oust the Soviets from Ethiopia.

Halliday, Fred, and Molyneux, Maxine. The Ethiopian Revolution. London: Verso/NLB, 1982, 304 pp. Reviewed in The Economist, 27 March 1982, p. 100.

Though they admit that the changes in Ethiopia over the past 8 years have been limited, the authors conclude that the revolutionary title claimed by Mengistu Haile Mariam and his Provisional Military Administrative Council is legitimate on the basis of the elimination of a dynasty, and systems of landholding and ethnic domination.

Inquai, Solomon. "The Hidden Revolution Triumphs in Tigray." Horn of Africa, vol. 4, no. 3, n.d., pp. 27-31.

A sympathetic treatment of the Second Woyane (Revolution) in Tigray being fought by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). Of special interest is the author's emphasis on the length to which the Ethiopian regime goes to suppress information of this revolt from the rest of the country.

GABON

Arnold, Guy. "Gabon: Small Oil Cloud on an Encouraging Horizon." New Africa, October 1981, pp. 29-30.

Gabon's economic success is based on oil, manganese, uranium and timber; major iron ore deposits have yet to be developed. But as oil resources are being depleted, exploitation of strategic minerals becomes more imperative. Other non-oil sectors of the economy are being expanded.

GHANA

Brown, David. "Who Are the Tribalists? Social Pluralism and Political Ideology In Ghana." African Affairs, vol. 81, no. 322 (January 1982), pp. 37-69.

An examination of social and political groupings in Ghana and their actions and expectatons since independence. Much emphasis has been given to the divisiveness of tribalism, especially the separatism of the Ewe. The author denigrates this by pointing out that the Akan group and the Ga are the most disillusioned; as the most economically advantaged groups, they have seen their position eroded and are less supportive of succeeding governments. Contrary to rumor, the Ewe, expecting less, are less tribal minded in spite of hostility sometimes directed against them by other groups and the government.

Diallo, Siradiou. "Lendemains de Putsch (Aftermath of the Putsch)." Jeune Afrique, 24 March 1982, pp. 38-39.

An account of the New Years coup which ended civilian rule in Ghana and returned Jerry John Rawlings to power. In hindsight, the previous regime's faults appear to have ordained its downfall, but Rawlings, shunted to the sidelines after willingly giving up power, was not long in deciding that he had made a mistake. The events of the coup, including a claim of Libyan assistance, are presented.

Rawlings, Jerry John. "Je Voulais etre pretre (I Wanted to Be a Priest)." Jeune Afrique, 31 March 1982, pp. 25-29.

This interview with Rawlings provides autobiographical information and exposes his political and social leanings. Remarkably candid and easygoing, Rawlings confesses to ignorance about economics. In deciding against becoming a priest, Rawlings cites his rejection of a passive role in favor of becoming a militant. Rawlings denies Libyan complicity in the coup, claiming that it wasn't necessary as there were only incompetents in the Ghanaian Government.

Zeff, Eleanor E. "New Direction in Understanding Military and Civilian Regimes in Ghana." African Studies Review, vol. XXIX, no. 1 (March 1981), pp. 49-72.

Goals and accomplishments of African military and civilian governments can be measured by studying statements made in the national press. By using content analysis the author finds that actual performance differences are distinctively shown. Although the study leaves off with the 1978 military regime prior to the first Rawlings putsch, its details and findings may be useful for analyzing these later developments.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Eisenloeffel, Frits N. "Guinea-Bissau in the Debt Trap." Africa Now, April 1982, pp. 97-98.

A rather bleak picture of Guinea-Bissau's economy, with particular attention paid to the burden of accumulated foreign debts.

IVORY COAST

Diallo, Siradiou. "Le Peril Kaki (The Khaki Peril)." Jeune Afrique, 31 March 1982, pp. 23-25.

Ivory Coast is finding itself increasingly isolated from its neighbors. Former friendly relations with neighbors have changed as Ivory Coast is encircled by countries ruled by military governments. The Ghana coup has created great worry and the Libyans are suspect as Ivorians are known to have joined Qadhafi's Islamic Legion. The university disturbances may be connected to Libyan initiatives and related to the Ghana coup.

Mamane, Koffi. "Pourquoi la 'Fronde' (Why the 'Riot')." Afrique-Asie, 1 March 1982, pp. 12-13.

The apparent contradiction between an attempt at "democratization" under a one-party guide is used to explain the recent university disorder in Abidjan. Economic problems compound the problem, but more basic may be the desire by intellectuals to distance themselves from government-party control. Government overreaction to the Rawlings' coup in Ghana led the students to riot when a false rumor circulated that a professor had been arrested. A little known fact that unemployed workers in the slums joined students underscores the seriousness of the confrontation.

KENYA

Segal, Aaron. "Kenya: Africa's Odd Man In." Current History, March 1981, pp. 106-30.

Analysis of Kenya's political and economic systems, foreign policy, and ethnic composition as these factors interact to make this country such an exception, in a positive sense, in the Horn and in East Africa.

LESOTHO

"Special Report: Perilous Times in Lesotho's Mountain Kingdom." Africa Now, November 1981, pp. 16-17.

Kidnapping, assassinations and political violence are becoming regular events in Lesotho. Both Lesotho political parties and South Africa are involved in the violence. A good overview of the historic evolution of Lesotho's current political situation.

MADAGASCAR

Ramaro, Elie. "L'Appel au Redressement (Appeal for Recovery)." Afrique-Asie, 1-14 February 1982, pp. 26-27.

Didier Ratsiraka, founder of the Second Malagasy Republic and President of Madagascar, has instituted a new program to revitalize Madagascar's deteriorating economy. Its aims and components are examined along with the reshuffling in the government.

MALAWI

"Malawi Steers a Right Course." Modern Africa, January/February 1982, pp. 12-13.

Malawi's high growth record is attributed to the high number (90 percent) of Malawians who stay on the land to grow the crops which accounted for \$266 million in foreign earnings in 1981, and President Banda's obsession with efficiency and honesty.

MAURITANIA

"The Gorgol Noir Dam." The Courier (Brussels), July-August 1981, pp. 32-33.

Mauritania should reap considerable benefits from the Fount Gleita dam sponsored by the EEC, the UN, and the Arab countries. The dam, which is in the Gogol Noir Valley, will be to Mauritania what Aswan was to Egypt. This project, the biggest agricultural project ever undertaken by Mauritania, aims at pushing up annual cereal production and broadening the range of crops, thereby creating a new focus for development in the southeast of the country. There would be 14,000 new jobs created and the anticipated grain harvest would treble per capita income.

"The Mauritanian Economy Now and in the Future." The Courier (Brussels), July-August 1981, pp. 27-29.

The Minister for Economy and Finance, Dieng Boubou Farba, explains the problems facing the Mauritanian economy and how the three-part plan for revival should enable all sectors to pick up again. While the economic revival in Mauritania is making progress slowly, it is taking place in an international environment that is not really propitious. What is lacking in Mauritania today is the financial means. Although Mauritania does not plan to return to the franc zone now or in the future, it does not consider the non-convertibility of its currency to be a stumbling block to privileged financial relations with members of the zone. On the subject of technical aid, Farba concludes that Lome II is considered an exemplary framework for cooperation between North and South.

MOZAMBIQUE

Hendriksen, Thomas H. "Mozambique: The Enemy Within." Current History, vol. 81, no. 473 (March 1982), pp. 111-14, 135-36.

Because of its strategic location along the West's oil route from the Persian Gulf and its proximity to South Africa, Mozambique's Marxist ruling party, FRELIMO, is of great interest to the West. Internal opposition to the government and a flagging economy have resulted in President Machel's "war on the enemy within."

NIGERIA

"In-Depth View of Life in Nigeria." New African, January 1982, pp. 59-94.

This extensive article examines Nigeria's oil dependence, the precarious position of its many emirs, state-government politics, food production,

problems in the educational system, a review of a new book on President Shehu Shagari, Chinese involvement, energy sources yet to be tapped, foreign policy, and attempts to protect the environment.

Kraus, Jon. "Nigeria Under Shagari." Current History, vol. 81, no. 473 (March 1982), pp. 106-10, 136.

Starting in the late 1960s, Nigeria's economy has had to adapt to the production and export of oil. This article discusses how the huge oil price increases in recent years have affected growth in other sectors of the economy, the new affluent class, and the political problems facing the government.

SOMALIA

Mohamoud, Osman. "Somalia: Crisis and Decay in an Authoritarian Regime." Horn of Africa, vol. 4, no. 3, n.d., pp. 7-11.

This essay examines the antecedents and the factors contributing to the emergence of an authoritarian regime in Somalia. Also discussed are the prospects for change in Somalia (minimal), and concludes with a scenario for democratic revitalization (removal of President Siad and his coterie of kin who exercise power).

SOUTH AFRICA

"ARMSCOR: Behind the Secrecy Shroud." Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 11 September 1981, pp. 1240-41.

A brief overview of ARMCOR's (Armaments Corporation of South Africa) management and production objectives. Also contains some specifics on the overall size of the organization. The article has two interesting and helpful wire diagrams: "ARMSCOR and Defense Planning" and "How ARMSCOR Procurement System Works."

Cervenka, Zdenek. "The Conspiracy of Silence." Africa, January 1982, pp. 12-16.

A rather detailed history of South Africa's quest for the "bomb." Cervenka, co-author of The Nuclear Axis: Secret Collaboration Between West Germany and South Africa, discusses the West's voluntary and involuntary assistance to South Africa's nuclear development. Although the author is critical of the United States' role, he seems to place a greater emphasis on West Germany's support. The article concludes with a brief essay entitled "France: the secret link."

Janzen, Franz, and Rivers, Bernard. "Oil Tankers to South Africa." Cited in Africa Today, vol. 28, no. 1 (1st Quarter 1981), p. 70.

A 90-page report containing the results of a year's research into the source of South Africa's oil supplies through an intensive analysis of movements of the world's tanker fleet. The report lists 150 tankers that called at South African ports between January 1979 and March 1980. The review states that "South Africa may have been undercut by the shipments discussed in this report."

Musiker, Reuben. South Africa (World Bibliographic Series, volume 7). Oxford and Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1979, 195 pp. As reviewed in African Affairs, vol. 80, no. 321 (October 1981), pp. 576-77.

The volume contains 577 annotated entries in 29 sections, and lists 600 additional works in the entries. The consolidated index of more than 3,000 entries covers authors, titles and subjects; there are some cross references in the text. The emphasis is on English language works to be of maximum use for overseas readers.

Serfontein, Hennie. "South Africa: Election Fiasco." Africa, December 1981, pp. 33-34.

A detailed analysis of the complete failure of the elections for the South African Indian Council (SAIC) in November 1981. Less than 15 percent of the registered Indian voters participated in the election; in some constituencies the vote was less than two percent. This failure of the white South African Government to consolidate non-black support against the native black population is termed "one of the most important political developments (in South Africa) in recent years." The author concludes that the Indian population will not support apartheid in any form, and that the Indian population foresees black rule in South Africa as inevitable.

"South Africa Alone." The Economist, 26 December 1981, pp. 10, 19.

An overview of South Africa's isolation in southern Africa and vis-a-vis the rest of the world. Particular attention is given to South Africa-Zimbabwe relations.

"South Africa's Future: 8 Views." African Index, 1 November 1981, pp. 65-68.

A compendium of views on South Africa's future and on various aspects of South African society. Among those cited are: Professor Willie Esterhuyse, Chairman of the Social and Political Department, University of Stellenbosch; J.C. Heunis, Minister of Internal Affairs; Professor Gilimomee, Department of History, University of Stellenbosch; and Alan Pifer, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Also included are articles from The Economist (London), the Financial Times (London), the Sunday Times (Johannesburg), and the Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg).

Southall, Roger. "Buthelezi, Inkatha, and the Politics of Compromise." African Affairs, vol. 80, no. 321 (October 1981), pp. 453-81.

The author looks at the "social forces" that Chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement represent to assess their overall significance and potential role in South Africa's future. Although the Inkatha movement is the largest black political organization in South African history (over 300,000 members as of 1980), in actuality it is primarily Zulu-based; furthermore, it is geographically centered in the Natal region. As of 1980, over 50 percent of its membership was female; "it is primarily a vehicle of the older and more conservative generation." The author sees a continuously diminishing future role for Buthelezi and Inkatha. He draws numerous parallels between Buthelezi and Bishop Muzorewa of Zimbabwe. The closer Buthelezi works with

the white establishment, the faster he will lose credibility and support among the more militant black youth, and if Buthelezi fails to reduce violence, he will lose some of his conservative backers. In the end, if violence should break out on a wide scale, Buthelezi and Inkatha will find themselves without guns of their own.

Spence, J. E. "South Africa: The Nuclear Option." African Affairs, vol. 80, no. 321 (October 1981), pp. 441-52.

Asserts that militarily South Africa does not need nuclear weapons; the South African Defense Force (SADF) can deal very effectively with any and all military threats throughout southern Africa. However, South Africa's threat "to go nuclear" is a very effective political and diplomatic tool. No one seriously questions South Africa's ability to produce weapons in the short term; consequently, South Africa's threat does have considerable substance. In conclusion, the author points out that if South Africa should go nuclear, unique factors in its society and outlook make it far more dangerous than it otherwise might be. Those factors include the distorting influence of the Afrikaners' ideological perception; the growing sense of isolation on the part of its leadership; the deep-rooted fear of an aggressive, revolutionary Soviet Union; and the absence of a sizeable professional elite skilled in the theory and practice of nuclear strategy and contributing to informed public debate on (the seriousness of) these matters.

SUDAN

Voll, John. "Reconciliation in the Sudan." Current History, December 1981, pp. 422-48.

An overview of the factors that have resulted in a period of relative stability, both internally and externally, in the Sudan since the early 1970s. Interestingly, the author states that Sudan functions best in the international setting when it maintains a strong position on as few issues as possible. In this respect, Sudan's involvement in the East-West conflict is self-defeating because of its basic national weaknesses; it should instead devote all of its energies to strengthening or normalizing its regional position.

UGANDA

Rothchild, Donald, and Harbeson, John. "Rehabilitaton in Uganda." Current History, March 1981, pp. 115-38.

An analysis of the grim politico-economic legacy in Uganda left by the Amin regime. Among the proposals offered by the authors as solutions include short term recovery measures (food aid, restoration of transport, agricultural inputs, repair of the water system, medical relief, and the rebuilding of the internal security system) that will lead to a restoration of political legitimacy and administrative efficacy, which are critical to Uganda's genuine recovery.

ZAIRE

Arnold, Guy. "Despondency and Debts in Zaire." Modern Africa, January/February 1982, pp. 16-17.

Although Zaire's potential for development is great, its huge debts have brought the country close to economic collapse. The West has done a great deal to reschedule Zaire's debts by way of aid loans, but is now becoming increasingly cautious due to corruption in Mobutu's regime.

"Mobutu's Empire of Graft." Africa Now, March 1982, pp. 12-23.

Examines in detail the extent of Zairean President Mobutu's vast fortune including the holdings of relatives and friends. Also discusses developing political and military threats to the Mobutu regime.

ZAMBIA

Shaw, Timothy M. "The Political Economy of Zambia." Current History, vol. 81, no. 473 (March 1982), pp. 125-28, 144.

With an end to the liberation war in Zimbabwe, Zambia's economy and national development are as tenuous as ever due to its dependence on copper. This article also discusses President Kaunda's one-party government which has been faced with internal opposition and two unsuccessful coup plots that Kaunda blames on foreign subversion.

Weiss, Ruth. "From Riches to Rags." Africa Now, April 1982, pp. 24-25.

A brief overview of the various internal and external factors which have contributed to the decline of Zambia's economy.

ZIMBABWE

Martin, David, and Johnson, Phyllis. The Struggle for Zimbabwe. London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1981, 378 pp. As cited in African Affairs, vol. 80, no. 321 (October 1981), pp. 561-62.

Martin and Johnson, two journalists with access to high-level Zimbabwean and former Rhodesian officials, have written a detailed account of the guerrilla war as seen from both sides. Martin reportedly drew much information from numerous unspecified "confidential documents." Among other things, members of the former Rhodesian Special Branch admitted Rhodesian responsibility for the killing of seven Musami missionaries, for the assassination of J. Z. Moyo, and for the Nhari rebellion which so nearly crippled ZANU in 1974-75. Other sources confirmed that the Zambian commission which blamed Tongogara for Chipeto's death was a fraud from the start. Reportedly an excellent and important book.

Soudan, Francois. "Un Modele Brise (A Shattered Model)." Jeune Afrique, 3 March 1982, p. 17.

A rather bleak picture of recent events in Zimbabwe, including the dismissal of Nkomo, the arrest of whites for plotting against the Mugabe government,

increased white emigration, and the establishment of a one-party system. The author sums up the situation thus: "Robert Mugabe's country is becoming an African state like (all) the others."

Soudan, Francois. "Nkomo, Le Pere Renie (Nkomo, The Rejected Father)." Jeune Afrique, 3 March 1982, pp. 18-19.

A pro-Nkomo article which gives a rather detailed history of how Nkomo has survived despite great odds throughout the long struggle for Zimbabwean independence. Soudan notes that if Nkomo survived until now, he very well may survive the current setback and emerge later as a powerful Zimbabwean politician.

Vanconcelos, Tania. "Les Scissions Dangereuses (The Dangerous Splits)." Afrique-Asie, 1 March 1982, p. 18.

The current split between Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo and their respective political parties (ZANU and ZAPU) is seen as only benefiting Pretoria's policies of destabilization and hegemony in the region.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in May 1982)

AFRICA GENERAL

Bloch, Jonathan. "The Dogs of War Exposed." Africa Now, May 1982, pp. 33-48.

A fairly comprehensive though slanted account of mercenary involvement in Africa from the Congo in 1960 to the Seychelles in 1981. The author treats as fact several cases about which little has actually appeared in the open press.

Crabbe, Raoul. "La Competition Entre l'Est et l'Ouest Inquiète les Etats Riv-erains (The East-West Competition Worries Littoral Countries)." Remarques Arabo-Africaines, no. 532 (1982), pp. 25-26.

The vital sea route from the Persian Gulf to the West via the Indian Ocean has increased competition between the East and West for influence in littoral countries. When the British progressively abandoned bases as its Indian Ocean possessions gained independence, the Soviet Union was quick to move into facilities in the PDRY, Madagascar, Tanzania, and Zanzibar. As the Cape of Good Hope route has become less important since the reopening of the Suez Canal in 1975, the USSR has begun concentrating on gaining control of the Red Sea route; Ethiopia is well situated for this purpose. The Indian Ocean countries, while benefitting from US and Soviet economic and technical aid, remain nonaligned and worried about the effect of the superpower struggle on them.

Kowet, Donald K. Land, Labour Migration and Politics in Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978, 243 pp. As reviewed in Africa Today, 3d quarter (1981), pp. 51-52.

A socioeconomic study of the black "labor reserves" in southern Africa. The author, a noted social theorist, studies the ties between the traditional black tribal leaders, the new black managerial elite, and the white South African socioeconomic interest groups in the maintenance of the status quo. These three forces work together to control the massive black labor pool for their own interests. Specifically, the author attributes the failure of reforms in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland since independence to the self-interests of these groups.

McDowell, Bart. "Crosscurrents Sweep A Strategic Sea." National Geographic, vol. 160, no. 4 (October 1981), pp. 422-57.

In this descriptive article containing numerous photographs, the Indian Ocean islands of the Maldives, the Seychelles, Mauritius, Reunion, Madagascar, and the Comoros are toured. Included are geographical descriptions, political allegiances, lifestyles of the islands' inhabitants, and, in general, a flavor of each of the islands.

Nicolau, Alice. "Le Gouvernement Portugais et l'Afrique du Sud (The Portuguese Government and South Africa)." Afrique-Asie, November 1981, pp. 49-50.

Despite the fact that Lisbon has publicly and vehemently denounced South Africa's incursions into Angola, Nicolau insists that Portugal is working behind the scenes to destabilize the Marxist Angolan Government. Lisbon reportedly is an important center for anti-MPLA groups today. In addition, the article states that 26.4 percent of the war material used by the South Africans in invading Angola was manufactured in Portugal. The article ties Lisbon, Washington, and Pretoria together in trying to bring down the Luanda regime.

Soudan, Francois. "Les Espions Francais en Afrique (French Spies in Africa)." Jeune Afrique, 28 April 1981, pp. 22-25.

Africa is considered the domain of the French intelligence system which has been accused of fomenting coups and compromising the French Government on numerous occasions. The Mitterrand Socialist government had to deal with agents of questionable loyalty. Incidents in Chad and the Central African Republic led Mitterrand to reform the service and clean house of Giscard's loyalists.

Sylla, Lancine. "Succession of the Charismatic Leader: The Gordian Knot of African Politics." Daedalus, Spring 1982, pp. 11-27.

The author states that all African regimes that have come into being since 1960 have been based on the authority of a charismatic type. Attempts to resolve the succession problem in Africa have followed three lines: routinization of charisma, violent seizure of power followed by the transformation of the political system, and democratization initiated by the charismatic leader himself. As the author uses it, however, charisma seems to encompass many types of leaders; Bokassa, Amin, and Nguema are grouped together with Houphouet-Boigny, Senghor, and Ahidjo.

ANGOLA

"Angola Invasion: South Africa Builds Its Buffer." Southern Africa, September-October 1981, pp. 19-21 & 27.

A very detailed account of the August-September 1981 South African incursion into Angola, including a map and a "Chronology of Aggression" running from 30 July through 15 September. The article is written from an Angolan perspective.

BENIN

Modiano, Philip. "Better Times for Benin?" West Africa, 18 January 1982, pp. 156-57.

The last of a series of articles on Benin summarizes conditions in Benin and emphasizes Benin's economic performance. Relations with France are

improving and some government enterprises will close their doors after unsuccessful performances. Nigeria's continued well-being is important to Benin and the prospect of becoming a net oil exporter indicates better times.

ETHIOPIA

"Eritrean Revolt: An Endless Challenge to Ethiopia." The Middle East Reporter, 6 March 1982, pp. 12-15.

A concise overview of the Eritrean revolt with emphasis on the recent "Red Star" military campaign in the region by the central government. Information is also provided on the ascendancy of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) over its rival, the Eritrean Liberation Front-Revolutionary Council (ELF-RC), and the support that the Eritrean cause currently enjoys in the Arab world.

"Ethiopian Drive Repelled." The Middle East, May 1982, p. 13.

This article, based largely on information supplied by the EPLF, states that the "Red Star" military campaign in Eritrea was a tremendous failure. It also claims that Moscow is becoming increasingly annoyed with Addis Ababa over the Eritrean situation and especially Mengistu's recent rejection of an offer of autonomy by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), which was a far cry from that organization's long-sought goal of independence.

Yared, Marc. "Ethiopie: C'est la Lutte Finale . . . (Ethiopia: The Final Struggle . . .)." Jeune Afrique, 17 March 1982, pp. 56-57.

According to this author, the "Red Star" military campaign by the Ethiopian Government against the Eritrean rebels, the 6th since the revolution, is characteristic of Mengistu, who has proven to be a ruthless and determined nationalist. The article also provides some interesting information about the status of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the dominant group, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, both targets of this campaign. Also of interest is the assertion that the Soviet Union only feebly supported the offensive in Eritrea in order to maintain its presence for as long as possible in the Ethiopian military and, by extension, in all of Ethiopia.

GABON

Essomba, Philippe. "President Bongo: Le Gabon Dans Les Yeux (President Bongo: Gabon in His Eyes)." Bingo, May 1982, pp. 32-33.

During February President Bongo toured the principal cities and villages of all the provinces to interact with the citizens of Gabon concerning the problems faced by each region. Among the major problems are communications and education of the country's youth.

GAMBIA

Sharp, David. "Jawara Persiste et Signe (Jawara Persists and Signs)." Jeune Afrique, 21 April 1982, pp. 34-35.

In spite of signs of discontent with Gambian participation in the Senegambia Confederation, President Jawara pushed forward with elections which gave him the mandate he wanted. Rebels who attempted to overthrow his government have been prosecuted and the coup which ushered in the Confederation has been further discredited.

GHANA

Hansen, Emmanuel. "The Army That Had Crossed the Rubicon." Africa Now, March 1982, pp. 26-28.

A discussion of the Ghanaian Army and its history of involvement in Ghanaian politics. The Army nostalgically recalls the Nkrumah days but is presently more the product of the Acheampong era when its dominance resulted in widespread corruption and favoritism. Rawlings and his military followers represent junior officer frustrations and doubt that a civilian government can cure Ghana's ills.

"A Time of Ferment." Africa News, 5 April 1982, pp. 2-4.

The economic and social problems of Ghana are seen as giving rise to the New Year's coup which is given a relatively positive assessment. The enthusiasm of the first 3 months of the Rawlings government is compared to the Nkrumah era.

GUINEA

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Sekou Toure Lache Par Sa Famille (Sekou Toure's Family Has Let Him Down)." Jeune Afrique, 5 May 1982, pp. 22-24.

A recent assassination attempt against the president of Guinea revealed dissension within the president's family. The extended family of Toure includes brothers and brothers-in-law, and during the 20 years since independence, Toure has had to rely more and more on his family for support and protection. This time, corruption scandals forced Toure to dismiss members of his trusted entourage, revealing cracks in his government and family's loyalty.

IVORY COAST

Bessis, Sophie. "Abidjan-La-Debrouille (Abidjan The Resourceful)." Jeune Afrique, 28 April 1982, pp. 84-85.

The world recession has made life more difficult for the poor of Abidjan who continue to grow in number. Getting enough to eat is becoming more of a

problem, but workshops and artisan centers which manufacture local products at a cost far below the prices of imported goods operate in the poor sections of the city. Often immigrants from other African countries specialize in these selected crafts. A parallel society of workers who out of necessity have had to be resourceful is emerging.

"Economic Pressure." Africa Research Bulletin, 14 March 1982, pp. 6333-36.

Rising oil costs and declining prices for its products have crippled Ivory Coast's expanding economy. Its agriculture, once considered a showcase example, has been hampered by falling prices and higher energy costs. Inflation has slowed down all economic activity. Oil production--Ivory Coast is expected to be a net exporter in 1983--offers hope, but government officials fear it could destabilize the economy.

LESOTHO

"Lesotho: A Cauldron of Violence." Africa News, 1 February 1982, pp. 5-6.

Lesotho's Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan and the paramilitary Police Mobile Unit reportedly are behind widespread incidents of political violence, intimidation, detention, murder, and human rights violations in Lesotho. This repression has led to increased domestic support for the banned opposition party, the Basotholand Congress Party (BCP), and its military wing, the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA).

MALAWI

Chipembere, Henry B. M. "Malawi In Crisis: 1964." Ufahamu, vol. 11, no. 1 (Summer 1981), pp. 76-96.

Malawi's former exiled cabinet minister was unable to publish his account of the country's upheavals in 1964 until 1970 when this article first appeared. The article is a revealing and compelling story of the events which shaped the country and its politics into what they are today. This article first appeared in Ufahamu, vol. 1, no. 2 (Fall 1970).

Otzen, Uwe. "Malawi: Struktur, Engpasse und Perspektiven der Entwicklung (Structure, Bottlenecks, and Perspectives of Development)." Afrika Spectrum, March 1981, pp. 369-80.

Until now, Malawi's development model has been based on its limited agricultural resources. However, due to pressure of rising prices for energy, fertilizers, and capital goods, development prospects have become gloomier. The President, knowing domestic stability cannot be taken for granted, has pursued a policy of indirect redistribution by allocating all resources in the crucial sector of rural development.

MAURITANIA

"Mauritania: Facing up to Realities." Africa Confidential, 14 April 1982, pp. 5-8.

Numerous political forces were behind the aborted coup attempt against President Mohammed Heydalla's government last February. Pro-Iraqi Baathists, Rabat's tacit ally in the Saharan conflict, served as surrogates for the dissident officers' aborted coup by encouraging Saleck-Bneijara. Baathist elements reckoned that Heydalla's removal would open up a new period of instability, and Saleck-Bneijara, totally lacking support in the armed forces, would not be able to consolidate power. This would have opened the door to a rapprochement thanks to a Baathist-dominated government in Nouakchott. Relations with Iraq have cooled markedly much to the delight of Algeria and Libya. Having survived a second coup, Heydalla's public image has grown. Nonetheless, in the short-to-medium term the head of state is still faced with the same problems of avoiding involvement in the Saharan conflict, amassing a more coherent governmental team, controlling rampant corruption, and instituting badly needed social and economic reforms.

"Mauritanie: Des Projets Ambitieux (Mauritania: Ambitious Projects)." Revolution Africaine, 23-29 April 1982, pp. 27-29.

Mauritania has the potential to be self sufficient in food production by the year 2000. The National Company for Rural Development is responsible for developing important irrigation projects such as the Gorgol Noir which should revitalize the food producing sector of the economy. The iron deposit at Guelb is the site of an ambitious mining project scheduled to be operative in 1983 and which will replace the nearly exhausted mines at Kedia d'Idjill and Zouerate. Iron ore production has had its ups and downs because of the effects of the war and Australian and Brazilian competition.

MOZAMBIQUE

Mbanga, Trish. "New Hopes for Beira Route." Commerce (Harare, Zimbabwe), October 1981, pp. 20-21.

Examines the problems facing the port of Beira in Mozambique which is the gateway to the world for central and southern African goods. New terminals are being constructed to handle more efficiently goods flowing in and out of the port; the first is a joint tanker and roll-on roll-off terminal which will be used to pump crude oil to Zimbabwe once the Beira-Umtali pipeline is back in operation. The second is an industrial fishing dock. In general, the port must make adjustments to adapt to the changing patterns of maritime traffic which includes containerization and large bulk carriers.

Schoeller, Wolfgang. "Mosambik-Struktur und Krise Einer Dienstleistungs-Ökonomie im Südlichen Afrika (Structure and Crisis of a Public Service Economy in Southern Africa)." Afrika Spectrum, March 1981, pp. 345-68.

The development of the Mozambican system of balance of payments since the 1950s has created a crisis in foreign currency reserves which dominates the

economy, leading to low industrial production, unemployment, and a crisis in marketing. Under these conditions, agriculture and industry cannot be the bases for economic development. International economic cooperation will assume a decisive role in the economic development of the country.

NAMIBIA

"Namibia: The Kalangula Factor." Africa Confidential, 3 March 1982, pp. 4-6.

An analysis of the internal political situation in Namibia. In February 1982, Peter Kalangula, President of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), withdrew his Ovambo-based Namibia Democratic Party (NDP) from the DTA. If other members of the DTA follow Kalangula's lead, he could become a "third force" in any settlement of Namibian independence; the other two "forces" are SWAPO and the white South African-backed Namibians. There are 45 political parties in Namibia today. The DTA is comprised of 10 parties. The DTA presently holds 41 of the 50 seats in the National Assembly. The NDP, which controls 11 seats, is the largest DTA faction. The article discusses the various combinations that could arise among the parties. It is still too early to assess the outcome of the withdrawal other than to say that it is potentially significant.

"Namibia: Ruling Coalition Comes Unglued." Africa News, 22 February 1982, pp. 5-6 & 8.

A very brief overview of the internal problems facing the South African-backed Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in Namibia. Particular attention is focused on the break between the DTA and its largest component, the Ovambo-based Namibia Democratic Party. This split is a serious blow to the DTA and will impact negatively on the DTA's ability to make a good showing in any UN-supervised election concerning Namibian independence.

NIGERIA

"L'Economie du Nigeria et la Participation de la France a Son Developpement (Nigeria's Economy and the Participation of France in Its Development)." Marches Tropicaux, 12 February 1982, pp. 361-76.

With a population of 80 million and as the leading African oil producer, Nigeria has a tendency to neglect agricultural and industrial aspects of its economy. The politico-economic structural base is examined, and this is followed by a study in two parts entitled respectively: "Lagos: The Petrol-Agricultural Binomial" and "The Trappings of Industrialization." France's appreciable role in the traditionally anglophone market is discussed.

SENEGAL

"Senegal: Diouf Calls the Tune." Africa Confidential, 28 April 1982, pp. 4-7.

A comprehensive update of political developments in Senegal. Biographical information on leading opposition politicians and their platforms are

presented along with information on important religious and business leaders. Opposition groups proliferate but effective opposition to Diouf grows more remote.

SEYCHELLES

"Seychelles: The Murky Depths." Africa Now, May 1982, pp. 35-37.

The attempted coup on 25 November 1981 has resulted in numerous questions about who was behind it. The two trials of captured mercenaries, being held in the Seychelles and in South Africa, have added to the confusion. The article leans toward South African involvement in the coup preparations with support from certain elements of the Kenyan police force and government.

SOMALIA

"The Horn of Africa Trumpets War." The Economist, 6 March 1982, pp. 59-60.

Speculates on the possibilities of Ethiopia involving itself even more in Somalia, especially the North-South dissension. This is possible as President Barre, a southerner, is accused by northerners of artificially maintaining a hostile attitude toward Ethiopia. Ethiopia already provides aid to the Somali Salvation Democratic Front and now a new group, the Somali National Movement consisting mainly of northern Moslem tribes critical of Barre, is seeking Ethiopian help.

Indhagamun, Gibin. "Somalia: Barre Plays a Clever Hand." Africa Now, May 1982, pp. 26-27.

An analysis of the North-South rivalry in Somalia, especially the cause of the recent disturbances in the North and President Barre's successful reaction to them. The relations between the two parts of the country have always been tense, but with the Ogaden War the North lost a vital trade link with this region and also was inundated by refugees. The result of these additional pressures on the North was open protest against the central government and possible openings for Ethiopian involvement.

SOUTH AFRICA

"L'Avenir Economique du Ciskei (Ciskei's Economic Future)." Marches Tropicaux, 11 December 1981, pp. 3321-22.

A rather detailed study of Ciskei's geography, population, natural resources, agricultural potential, climate, development projects, and transport infrastructure. Includes numerous statistics and a map of the Ciskei homeland.

Kane-Berman, John. "Flag Down For New Ciskei 'Republic'." South (London), February 1980, pp. 23-25.

A very critical look at South Africa's attempts to create independent "homelands."

"South Africa: Arrests Point to Higher Level of Confrontation." Africa News, 18 January 1982, pp. 3-4.

In January 1982, official South African Government figures showed 179 people being detained under various security laws, up from 92 a year ago and from 134 only 2 months previous. In addition, there are 520 "security prisoners" and about 160 individuals serving under "banning orders." An increase in police activities and arrests is also seen in the Ciskei and Venda homeland areas. It is obvious, the article concludes, that South Africa is facing increased internal opposition to apartheid.

"South Africa: Detention Death Sparks Massive Work Stoppage." Africa News, 15 February 1982, pp. 5-7.

A rather detailed discussion of the South African Police practice of detention and of various domestic opposition groups to it. Worldwide attention was focused on South Africa following the so-called "suicide" of Dr. Neil Aggett, a white trade union organizer, in February 1982 while under detention. Aggett's death is the 46th officially admitted death under similar circumstances. The article compares Aggett's death to the 1977 "suicide" of Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko. The article also contains information on the new organization, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, and its efforts to protect prisoners being detained by the police.

"South Africa: Lutherans Charge Repression in Venda." Africa News, 25 January 1982, pp. 5-6.

Responding to the news that four tortured Lutheran pastors have been hospitalized in the Venda homeland in South Africa, Lutheran Church officials in New York have sent a letter of protest to the South African Government and have asked the US Government to intervene. The West German Government has also registered a formal protest with the South African Embassy in Bonn. The arrest of the four pastors has strong political overtones for South Africa and Venda in that the pastors reportedly were associated with antigovernment groups.

"South Africa: Tight Press Controls Urged." Africa News, 8 February 1982, pp. 10-11.

A good summary of the various proposals made by the South African Steyn Commission of Inquiry concerning increased governmental controls over the press and the dissemination of information in South Africa. The Commission's report is in addition to the more than 100 existing laws affecting the flow of information in and out of South Africa. The report drew considerable fire from English-language and some Afrikaans-language newspapers which see it as an attempt to muzzle the press further.

"US Clears Sales to South African Army, Police." Africa News, 8 March 1982,
pp. 2-3.

In 1963, President Kennedy imposed an arms embargo against South Africa. The embargo has always contained loopholes, and each subsequent US administration has interpreted it differently. The Reagan administration, according to this author, has greatly expanded the loopholes and is seeking to permit greater South African access to US goods and equipment. For example, no licenses are now required for sales to the military and police of food, nonmilitary clothing, and chemicals and industrial equipment "of no national security concern." There is a new growing trade in electronic equipment (personal communications equipment); export of computers to South Africa will be treated by the administration on a "case by case" basis. The test of the administration's new policy is the sale of 10 Beech Super King 200C twin engine turboprops. Although classified as "nonmilitary," these planes can be and have been used by the US military for electronic surveillance, troop and cargo transport, and emergency evacuation. The outcome of this political debate will impact on US-South African trade and relations.

SUDAN

Kutschera, Chris. "Sudan's Sullen South: A Special Report." The Middle East, May 1982, pp. 23-26.

A review of the differences between the North and South in the Sudan, especially from the southern perspective such as their fear of religious intolerance on the part of the Muslim northerners, and resentment of economic backwardness that the southerners feel is deliberately aimed at making their region weak to facilitate its division or demise.

"Sudan: Now It Is the Ethiopian Threat." Africa Now, May 1982, p. 25.

States that Sudan's President Numeiri has often used the threat of plots from Libya as a useful tool to deflect domestic unrest stemming from internal political and economic problems. Recently uncovered evidence of plots originating in Ethiopia, however, are not for public consumption but rather for grave private concern. In spite of the rapprochement in 1980 between Ethiopia and the Sudan, both countries have severe misgivings about each other. Ethiopia, for instance, believes that the Sudanese have not effectively sealed their border to the Eritreans nor harnessed the Eritrean organizations' activities in Khartoum. The Sudan, on the other hand, feels that the Ethiopians have not kept the terms of their agreement with regard to renewed assaults on the Eritreans in Eritrea.

UPPER VOLTA

Kamara, Sylviane. "Reduits et Abandonnes (Curtailed and Deserted)." Jeune Afrique, 21 April 1982, pp. 34-35.

Upper Volta labor union struggles against the military government have been unsuccessful. The 14 April call for a general strike fizzled. This failure

does not, however, mean that the military government can act with impunity; it is subject to criticism and must now answer for the long detention of former government officials as well as the absence of Soumame Toure, the militant labor official who is rumored to be secretly held by the military.

ZAIRE

Vansina, Jan. "Mwasi's Trials." Daedalus, Spring 1982, pp. 49-70.

A thoughtful sociological analysis of the Mobutu regime using the 1971 closure of Lovanium (now National) University as a point of reference. During this incident, the male student body was impressed into the Army as punishment for opposition to the central government. The Army is portrayed as being jealous of students because they will become members of the bourgeoisie and gain access to wealth, and suspicious of their "subversive" ideas. The author believes that Mobutu has reinstated a form of colonialism "with an exploitation as crass as existed in King Leopold's Congo."

ZIMBABWE

Morris, Neill. "Transport Urgently Needs Face-lift." Commerce (Harare, Zimbabwe), December 1981, pp. 22-23.

It is estimated that Zimbabwe is losing about \$5 million every week in foreign exchange earnings from the snarl-up in the country's transport system. Huge quantities of export produce are ready for shipment, but the dated railroad infrastructure cannot handle the load. Zimbabwe is working to improve her own rail system, and, in addition, Zimbabwe is working with neighboring countries (especially Mozambique) to improve their abilities to handle Zimbabwe's exports. Although the ultimate aim is to bypass South Africa, all of southern Africa continues to rely on South Africa's excellent transport and port facilities.

Morris-Jones, W. H., ed. From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. Totowa, New Jersey: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd, 1980, 123 pp. As reviewed in Africa Today, 3d quarter, 1981, p. 52.

Reportedly a well-balanced set of essays dealing with the events, personalities and historical forces which moved Rhodesia to become Zimbabwe.

"Zimbabwe: Botha's Strategy of Fear." Africa, September 1981, pp. 35-36.

Since Robert Mugabe took control of the Zimbabwe Government in 1980, he has repeatedly accused South Africa of trying to destabilize his regime. There are reports that Pretoria is training 5,000 supporters of former Zimbabwean Prime Minister Bishop Muzorewa in South Africa. South African agents reportedly were involved in the 1981 assassination of the ANC representative in Harare, and South Africa supposedly has many ties and supporters among the white population in Zimbabwe. In addition, Pretoria continues to use its immense economic leverage simultaneously to influence and destabilize the Mugabe government.

"Zimbabwe: Nkomo Out After Plot Accusations." Africa News, 22 February 1982,
pp. 2-3.

A good summary of events leading up to Prime Minister Mugabe's decision to dismiss Joshua Nkomo from his cabinet. The article also looks at Mugabe's plan to establish a one party state in Zimbabwe. Mugabe still faces strong opposition at home from Nkomo's supporters and abroad primarily from exiled whites based in South Africa.

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AFRICA GENERAL

Anderson, David. "America in Africa, 1981." Foreign Affairs, vol. 4 (Spring 1982), pp. 658-85.

A survey of US involvement in Africa during 1981 touching on deteriorating relations with Libya, participation in the "Contact Group" effort to bring about a Namibian settlement, tentative support for the new state of Zimbabwe, increased support for Egypt and Somalia, and the unresolved relationship with France with regard to Africa.

Coker, Christopher and Shulte, Heinz. "A European Option in the Indian Ocean." International Defense Review, January 1982, pp. 27-34.

An historic step was taken in May 1980 when the United States and NATO defined a security interest outside the traditional defense perimeter. In the event of hostilities in the Indian Ocean, the Europeans could provide little other than logistical support and naval reconnaissance. However, while the US strategy is to protect the oil at its source rather than in transit, the Europeans, whose shipping would be most at risk, have a greater incentive for contribution to a naval task force rather than to a rapid deployment force. The French contribution has insured a European naval presence in the area.

Grundy, Trevor. "The Big Nine Get It Together." Southern Africa, September-October 1981, pp. 23, 25, 27.

All nine heads of state of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) met in Harare, Zimbabwe, during September 1981 to discuss their past successes and future objectives. The focus of the meeting was on transport and telecommunications needs for southern Africa. Particular attention is paid to Zimbabwe's development plans within the context of the Conference.

Kolodziej, Edward A. and Harkavy, Robert E., eds. Security Policies of Developing Countries. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1982.

The introductory and concluding chapters were written by the editors while the individual country analyses were authored by area specialists. From the authors comparative analyses, the obvious importance of geography to the national security of developing nations stands out. Other significant variables include population, resources, and internal politics. Despite differences in degree of policymaking independence, many developing nations' security environments strongly relate to superpower rivalry and have international or at least regional impact. The African countries covered are Nigeria (by John M. Ostheimer and Gary J. Buckley) and South Africa (Timothy M. Shaw and Lee Dowdy).

Menudier, Henri. "L'Allemande et L'Afrique (Germany and Africa)." Defense Nationale (Paris), August-September 1981, pp. 21-33.

A summary of Germany's involvement in Africa from the mid-1880s. The Imperial German colonial experience was cut short by World War I, and Germany did not seriously turn again to Africa until after World War II. Since the 1950s, West German policies toward Africa have been primarily economic in nature. German development assistance has been directed toward stabilizing those areas from which West Germany receives important mineral resources. Despite German condemnations of apartheid, the article notes that West Germany is South Africa's second largest trading partner after the United States and the second largest source of investment for South Africa after Great Britain.

ANGOLA

Merriman, Jane. "Angola and Brazil: Strange Bedfellows." Africa Now, February 1982, pp. 90-91.

The increasing presence of "rightwing" Brazil in "pro-Marxist" Angola's economy has been arousing considerable interest; in 1981, Angola was Brazil's third largest market in Africa after Nigeria and Zaire. Trade links between the two former Portuguese colonies are being strengthened and a relationship based on mutual economic interests (manufactured goods for oil) is developing. It appears that a pragmatic economic approach is more important than ideological differences in this relationship.

"The Tragedy of Africa's Secret War." The Scotsman, 1 February 1982, pp. 9, 12.

Angola is rich in oil, minerals and productive agricultural land, yet, as a result of the current civil war, Angola has had to import some oil and large numbers of Angolans are suffering from malnutrition. The country is literally torn in two with MPLA, UNITA, Cuban and South African forces fighting throughout the central and southern regions. This article contains some information on the size of UNITA's forces (as supplied by UNITA itself). The best hope for peace is seen in the successful resolution of Namibian independence, the subsequent withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from the area, and a reconciliation between the two major factions in Angola.

CHAD

Joffe, E.G.H. "Libya and Chad." Review of African Political Economy (May-September 1981), pp. 84-102.

Although events have overtaken the author's conclusions, his detailed background and discussion, which center on Libya's intervention, deserve reading.

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AFRICA GENERAL

"ACCT: Le Tournant de Libreville (ACCT: The Events of Libreville)." Actuel Developpement, January-February 1982, pp. 23-24.

ACCT, the Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agency, an association sponsored and heavily subsidized by France for the propagation of the French language and culture, meets yearly to voice the importance of its aims. The political power of the organization is often underestimated, but France, which bears most of the cost for the organization's programs, considers cultural development to be parallel to economic development.

Connell, Dan. "War Crisis Escalates." Merip Reports, June 1982, pp. 3-4.

The author believes that most of the tension on the Horn, specifically the disputes between Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia, is a direct outgrowth of those nations attempting to become modern states yet lacking the cohesive assistance of national political parties which could alleviate many of their internal and external problems.

Dabmani, Abdelaziz and Diallo, Siradiou. "Commandos Sur le Sabel (Commandos on the Sabel)." Jeune Afrique, 9 June 1982, pp. 24-26.

A recent attempt to attack the uranium town of Arlit in Niger has further clouded relations between Niger and Libya. The use of Algeria for transit by the commando raiders who split into two groups, one going to Mali where they massacred a border post, and the other hiding in Niger, threatens improved relations with Algeria. The Tuareg desert people who seek to dominate the area are in direct confrontation with governments dominated by Black Africans. Libyan complicity against its southern neighbors is certain beyond doubt.

"Decoloniser La Cooperation Pour Promouvoir Le Developpement (Decolonize Cooperation (Assistance) in Order to Promote Development)." Actuel Developpement, January-February 1982, pp. 15-21.

Jean-Pierre Cot, French Minister of Cooperation and Development, discusses the new directions and reforms of his ministry and French foreign aid policy. In the interview, Cot explains how the new Socialist government policy will be implemented through greater coordination between various sections of the Foreign Ministry. Cot insists that the human rights issue remains a cornerstone of new Socialist policy.

Kalley, Jacqueline A. "Sanctions and Southern Africa: A Bibliographical Guide." A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, vol. 14, no. 2 (1981-1982), pp. 201-34.

A comprehensive bibliographic essay with introductory notes concerning various attempts to enforce sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa. The

author is the Librarian at the South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg.

"France: Plus Ca Change (More of the Same)." Africa Confidential, 23 June 1982, pp. 3-4.

An analysis of the French Socialist Government's successes and failures. Despite grandiose promises to reorient France's African policy, the Socialists are following well-tried policies. The Cooperation Ministry has had to postpone reforms in the face of opposition. France has found that it serves its interests best by maintaining its ties and pushing into new economic fields. Both military assistance and personnel salary expenditures have increased measurably. Some of France's old friends in Africa remain nervous, but continuity, not change, marks the first year performance of the Socialists.

Zuk, Gary and Thompson, William R. "The Post-Coup Military Spending Question: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Times Series Analysis." American Political Science Review, vol. 76, no. 1 (March 1982), pp. 60-74.

Examines the 1967 to 1976 spending patterns of 66 less developed states (GNP per capita of less than \$1,700 in 1976) categorized by regime type using as indicators defense allocations as a proportion of the state budget and growth of military expenditures per capita. Concludes that while military and mixed regimes devote more of their budgets to defense purposes than do civilian regimes, the average proportional size of military budgets is decreasing for all three, and the fastest rate of decline is found within the military group. The findings suggest that military personnel do not participate in coups to advance their corporate interests. Twenty-seven sub-Saharan African countries are included in the survey.

ANGOLA

"Economic Destabilization: The Counterfeit Kwanzas." CovertAction, no. 13 (July-August 1981), p. 21.

In late 1980, the Angolan Government reportedly uncovered a widespread counterfeit scheme in Huambo. The Angolans accused the South African Government of trying to undermine the Angolan economy, although no proof was ever found. The article flatly states that the US CIA was probably involved in the plot, citing examples of CIA counterfeit schemes involving Cuba and North Vietnam.

CAMEROON

Barry, Mamadou Alpha. "Croissance Tranquille (Calm Growth)." Jeune Afrique, 23 June 1982, pp. 38-39.

For a quarter of a century, President Ahmadou Ahidjo has been attempting to form a nation out of 200 ethnic groups who speak a hundred languages. On 20 May 1982, the celebration of the country's tenth anniversary of unification took place in the capital, Yaounde, a modern and culturally active city.

The standard of living in the country has more than doubled since independence despite high inflation, underdeveloped industry, and the inadequate infrastructure. Although the government is careful not to overestimate gas and oil reserves, Cameroon remains one of the fastest developing African nations.

CHAD

"Brothers and Enemies." West Africa, 5 April 1982, pp. 909-10.

The personal and ethnic relationship between Goukouni Weddeye and Hissene Habre has contributed much to the long and uncompromising Chad civil war. The article discusses and synthesizes the complicated northern Chad ethnic picture which has had a great impact on events and personalities in the post-independence history of Chad.

Diallo, Siradiou. "Tchad: Fin d'Une Longue Marche (Chad: The End of a Long March)." Jeune Afrique, 16 June 1982, pp. 26-27.

A chronological description of the physical and political march of Hissene Habre to his latest success. Crediting FAN (Northern Armed Forces) with discipline and dedication to Habre, the author firmly states that Saudi Arabian and US efforts greatly aided Habre's victory and the defeat of Libya's objectives.

Soudan, Francois. "Les Algeriens Arrivent (The Algerians Arrive)." Jeune Afrique, 12 May 1982, pp. 36-37.

An assessment of military assistance rendered the Chad Government forces by Algeria. This marks a first intervention by Algerian forces outside their borders and the injection of a new force into the Chad civil war. The Algerians received full support from the French and appear to be cooperating with French military technicians in maintaining the N'Djamena airport. Written before the evacuation of the Algerians shortly after the defeat of the government forces, the article is important for the information it provides on Algeria's efforts to support the official Chad Government.

CONGO

Decraene, Philippe. "A L'Heure du 'Boom' Petrolier, Le Miracle est Quotidien (During the Petroleum Boom, An Everyday Miracle)." Actuel Developpement, March-April 1982, pp. 59-60.

Pointe-Noire has become a modern administrative center. All Congolese commercial traffic passes through the port city and the Congo-Ocean Railroad is relied on by all of Central Africa. It is also a transit point for Cuban troops en route to Angola and receives Soviet military shipments destined for Cabinda. In addition, it has become a fairly large-sized oil center. Also traces the history of the city and its surroundings and the influence of European colonization.

ETHIOPIA

Gilkes, Patrick. "Building Ethiopia's Revolutionary Party." Merip Reports, June 1982, pp. 22-28.

A review of the Provisional Military Administrative Council's relationship with leftist civilian political parties since 1976 and its own attempt to form a revolutionary party, at the urging of the Soviet Union, with the Committee for Organizing the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia (COPWE). The author contends that it is too early to judge whether the vanguard party that COPWE finally creates will be a vehicle for broad political expression and a transition to socialism, or no more than a device to enable the military hierarchy to consolidate firm control over the new institutions of the post-revolutionary state.

Halliday, Fred and Molyneux, Maxine. The Ethiopian Revolution. London: Verso, 1982. Reviewed in Merip Reports, June 1982, pp. 29-30.

The authors argue, convincingly according to the reviewer, that "the Ethiopian revolution was one of the most deep and authentic revolutions of recent times and the most profound social revolution in contemporary African history." This latter contention is based on the fact that they have identified the Ethiopian revolution as a rare instance of a class-based revolution in a post-colonial society. By contrast, most political movements in the Third World have been nationalist bringing together all indigenous classes in the struggle against a foreign colonial power. The authors, however, are uncertain about Ethiopia's future as the example of Iran, where a revolution yielded up a narrow and tyrannical regime, holds out little hope that continued social development will take place and that counterrevolution lurks just around the corner.

Halliday, Fred and Molyneux, Maxine. "Ethiopia's Revolution From Above." Merip Reports, June 1982, pp. 5-15.

Why did the leadership of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) implement such a radical program in Ethiopia after 1976? The authors cite five reasons why this group of military officers, none of whom were members of a secret political group or some leftwing military conspiratorial organization, undertook such a comprehensive revolutionary program: (1) pressure from the peasantry for land reform and from the mass of urban poor for an improvement in their living conditions; (2) pressure from the civilian political parties for changes; (3) the PMAC was radicalized by its own factions based on class interests long suppressed under the ancien régime; (4) Ethiopia's relationship with the USSR, especially its military requirements stemming from the conflicts in the Ogaden and in Eritrea; and (5) the most important reason for the PMAC's reorientation had to do with its basic survival, in that it had to destroy the socioeconomic foundations of the old regime to eliminate any alternatives to its rule.

Potholm, Christian P. "Ethiopia: The Marxist Modernizers," in The Performance of Soldiers as Governors: African Politics and the African Military, edited by Isaac James Mowoe. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980, pp. 199-222.

The author uses the Ethiopian Dergue as an example of the military coming to power not simply to wipe out corruption, gain control over the government or enrich the members of the ruling junta, but, rather, to completely revolutionize society. This, the author contends, was a new phenomenon in Africa and he analyzes its political societal components to see if it could be duplicated elsewhere on the continent.

GHANA

Enchill-Bentsi, Nii-K. "Ghana in Perspective." West Africa, April 1982, p. 908.

The author reviews the different social orders in Ghana and their interactions in Ghanaian politics. Special emphasis is given the Rawlings regime and Ghana in the 1950s.

IVORY COAST

Ivory Coast: Prospects Good for Oil Development." Africa News, 7 June 1982, pp. 5-6.

An economic update of conditions in Ivory Coast at mid-1982. While prospects for oil development in the near future look good and will help Ivory Coast's economy, the agricultural sector is under stress, posing problems for political stability.

"La Cote d'Ivoire: Une Modele a l'Epreuve (Ivory Coast: A Model Being Put to the Test)." Le Monde, 17 May 1982, pp. 5-9.

Ivory Coast is highlighted in a series of articles by leading French Africanists Philippe Decraene, Edmond Jove, Georges Lory and Robert Cornevin. While cautiously optimistic, the authors generally praise Houphouet-Boigny and the Ivorian experience.

MALAWI

"Making the Most of Meagre Resources." Courier, no. 68 (July/August 1981), pp. 34-47.

Since independence in 1964, Malawi has developed from a poor state to a profitable agricultural society under the leadership of President Banda. The scope and nature of the various agricultural and industrial projects are discussed in great detail.

"Malawi: The Waiting Game." Africa Confidential, 9 June 1982, pp. 5-8.

There is a great deal of speculation regarding the succession of President Kamuzu Banda when he dies. Some of the strong candidates for the position

now seem to be in ambivalent positions. The security services and armed services are expected to stay out of all but the most serious post-Banda infighting, there is a relative absence of tribal or religious antagonisms, and there are no significant food shortages, all of which would eliminate real problems in the succession.

NIGER

Barry, Mamadou Alpha. "Au Commencement Etit L'uranium (First There is Uranium)." Jeune Afrique, 19 May 1982, pp. 47-51.

Niger's future hinges on increased production and high prices for its uranium. Its partnership with France in the exploitation of this strategic mineral has created a special relationship between the two countries. With each world recession, Niger is further threatened and its prospect for becoming the leading African producer and one of the leading world producers of uranium is further complicated. Production statistics as well as political implications are presented and discussed.

"Niger: Merging Economic Growth With Political Rebirth." Africa News, 14 June 1982, pp. 9-11.

The Niger military government is sponsoring a grassroots movement to involve villagers in representative government in what some observers herald as the beginnings of return to civilian rule. The military leadership is urging villagers to work hard and organize themselves around existing rural co-operatives and the Samariyas, government-sponsored youth groups.

NIGERIA

Lerche, C. O. "Social Strife in Nigeria, 1971-1978." Journal of African Studies, vol. 9, no. 1 (1982), pp. 2-12.

Reports findings from an investigation into the characteristics of social strife in Nigeria during the years 1971-1978 to evaluate a military regime's success in maintaining public order. After explaining how the data was collected, a description of the various facets of social strife during the period is presented. The relationship between social strife and certain indicators of development is explored using cross-sectional data from the individual Nigerian states.

Okoli, Enukora Joe. "The Rivers State Revisited." West Africa, April 1982, pp. 913.

Draws on the ill feeling of the Rivers State people who see themselves contributing 69 percent of the nation's total revenue and are receiving little in return. These people feel that they are cheated, despised, and ignored in the Nigerian federation.

SOMALIA

Lewis, I. M. "Somalia: Nationalism Turned Inside Out." Merip Reports, June 1982, pp. 16-21.

An expert on Somali politics makes some very interesting observations about the forces and motives concerning Somalia's past and present attempts to incorporate the Ogaden region. Of particular importance are the identification of groups within Somalia which do not support President Siad's irredentism.

SOUTH AFRICA

Bowman, Larry W. "The Strategic Importance of South Africa to the United States: An Appraisal and Policy Analysis." African Affairs, April 1982, pp. 159-91.

When assessing the importance of South Africa to the United States, the Soviet/Cuban threat, the value of the Cape route, and South Africa's regional power and mineral wealth must be considered. Bowman argues that secure strategic relations with South Africa do not require close ties with the apartheid regime.

"The 'Buffalo Battalion': South Africa's Black Mercenaries." CovertAction, no. 13 (July-August 1981), pp. 16-17.

Contains a history and a "who's who" of South Africa's mercenary 32nd "Buffalo" Battalion. The 32nd reportedly is made up of black Angolan, Zambian, Zairean, Mozambican, and Zimbabwean troops and is led by white South African, US, British, and French officers. Based in Namibia, it is primarily used against SWAPO and Angolan forces in Angola. The article accuses this battalion of numerous atrocities against Angolan civilians. It also states that South Africa has other similar units primarily directed against Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique.

Carter, Gwendolen M. Which Way is South Africa Going? Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980, 184 pp. As reviewed in The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 19, no. 2 (June 1981), pp. 340-41.

Carter focuses on domestic developments in South Africa and is "especially insightful in dealing with factionalism inside both Afrikanerdom and the Black Consciousness Movement." The book evidently is critical of US policies toward South Africa, especially under the Reagan administration.

"Changing Defense Strategy." Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 15 January 1982, pp. 190-91.

An interview with General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the South African Defense Force (SADF). General Viljoen sees the Soviets as South Africa's foremost enemy; the ANC and SWAPO could do nothing without Soviet assistance and backing. He also touches on proposed changes in the call-up system to meet future terrorist threats in South Africa.

"Independent Ciskei--Key to the Future." Bulletin (Africa Institute of South Africa), vol. 22, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-8.

A detailed official South African account of the newly independent Ciskei homeland. Includes excellent background information on population, the economy, history, government, industry, agriculture; includes a detailed map and a brief biography of Lennox Leslie Wongama Sebe, President of Ciskei.

"South Africa: White Who Say 'No'." Third World (Mexico City), no. 4 (February-March 1980), pp. 31-32.

Primarily focuses on anti-apartheid draft resisters and deserters from the South African Defense Force (SADF). Also describes a US-based organization called South African Military Refugee Fund (SAMRAF) whose prime aims include promoting desertions from the SADF, encouraging conscientious objectors, and providing support for war resisters.

Terblanche, Stephen. "Battles Beyond Angola's Border." Soldier of Fortune, May 1982, pp. 48-51, 82-85.

Terblanche was one of six journalists invited by the South African Defense Force to witness the November 1981 incursion into southern Angola codenamed Operation Daisy. The article contains some photos of South African equipment and troops in combat situations.

"Transport Facets: A Dream Becomes Reality." Sassar (Johannesburg), January 1982, pp. 33-38.

A detailed technical account of the transport infrastructure at South Africa's coal exporting port at Richard's Bay. Particular attention is paid to the railroad system to and from the port area. The article contains numerous photos of the Richard's Bay complex.

Ume, Kalu E. "The Origins of Apartheid in South Africa: A Review." Journal of African Studies, vol. 8, no. 4 (Winter 1981-82), pp. 176-81.

Dr. Ume, a professor at the University of Calabar, Nigeria, traces the roots of South Africa's apartheid policy to colonial racism in the mid-1600s. He also stresses the role that the Dutch Reformed Church played in supporting apartheid. A large part of the article describes the various racial laws that have been passed in South Africa since the early 1900s. Ume concludes with a brief summary of black African reactions to growing racism from the late 1800s.

SUDAN

Jablonsky, Walter. "Maritime Probleme eines Entwicklungslandes: Die Demokratische Republik Sudan am Roten Meer. (Maritime Problems of a Developing Country: The Democratic Republic of Sudan on the Red Sea)." Marine Rundschau, May 1982, pp. 244-46.

Sudan does not have a significant shipping trade by world standards. Its economy, however, is extremely dependent on trade through the Red Sea. All

of Sudan's industries are dependent on energy, machine, and machine part imports through the country's only port, Port Sudan. The Red Sea has become the focus of world interest and potential conflict. Any disruption of trade through the Red Sea would be disastrous for Sudan. Sudan's navy will not be able to play a significant role in any conflict in the Red Sea in the foreseeable future.

SWAZILAND

"Swaziland: Land Deal May Mean More Compliance." Africa Now, April 1982, pp. 39-40.

Discusses the significance and impact of Swaziland's annexation of two South African native homeland areas, KaNgwane and the northern portion of KwaZulu. South Africa and Swaziland will complete the exchange of territory despite OAU and local political leadership opposition. Consequently, it appears that Swaziland will cooperate more closely with South Africa in the future against the ANC. The article points out that Pretoria is also going to help Swaziland develop and expand its rail links with South Africa, thereby making Swaziland even more dependent on South Africa than before.

TANZANIA

Sathyamurthy, T. V. "Tanzania's Role in International Relations and Non-alignment." Geneva-Africa (Geneva), vol. XIX, no. 2 (1981), pp. 73-103.

Examines Tanzania's role in the nonaligned movement from the perspective of the overall development of this movement as a "power bloc" in international affairs. This approach differs from most analyses of Tanzania's foreign policy which have tended to study this country's nonalignment almost exclusively as an outgrowth of its domestic social and economic policy, particularly the Arusha socialist movement, and the growing national liberation movement in southern Africa.

TOGO

Diallo, Siradiou. "Les Dividendes de la Stabilite (The Dividends of Stability)." Jeune Afrique, 12 May 1982, pp. 30-31.

Political stability under President-General Gnassingbe Eyadema and economic austerity are returning dividends to Togo. The country is on the threshold of food self-sufficiency and some of its industrial investments show promise. Although certain sectors will still experience their ups and downs, well-planned efforts in concert with borrowing policies have created a good outlook for Togo.

"Togo: Moving Towards Self-Sufficiency." West Africa, 5 April 1982, pp. 930-32.

Togo's Green Revolution is 5 years old and the country appears well on its way to becoming food self-sufficient by 1985. A major part of the program is the opening up of new areas to settlement through road construction and

government subsidies to new immigrants. In addition to food production, cash crop production is encouraged but its sale is not regulated. Cooperative efforts are encouraged by the government.

UGANDA

Lansner, T. R. "Can Obote Survive?" Africa Report, January-February 1982, pp. 42-45.

President Obote promised reconciliation and no revenge when he took office in December 1980. Since his election, Uganda has made significant economic advances, yet the brutality and corruption that highlighted Amin's tyranny still remain. Much of its violence and insecurity arises from the indiscipline of the military which Obote, a Langi, was expected to be able to control as the army is largely made up of fellow northerners. The author has grave doubts as to whether Obote can demonstrate sufficient political astuteness to survive the next year.

Mulira, James. "Soviet Bloc: Trade, Economic, Technical and Military Involvement in Independent Africa: A Case Study of Uganda 1962-1979." Geneva-Africa (Geneva), vol. XIX, no. 1 (1981), pp. 39-81.

A general review of the Soviet trade, economic, and technical aid policy towards Africa in recent years in an attempt to understand its impact on economic and social development in Africa. Uganda was selected as a focus because it had one of the longest ties with the Soviet Bloc (dating back to 1948), was an object of intense East-West rivalry, and, during Amin's rule, was a major recipient of Soviet military aid.

ZIMBABWE

Sathyamurthy, T. V. "Zimbabwe: Two Years of Independence: A Report." Economic and Political Weekly (Bombay), 8 May 1982, pp. 766-67.

A favorable Third World view of Zimbabwe's first 2 years of independence. The author praises Mugabe's success in integrating the white and guerrilla armies into a new national force. However, the crucial economic tests of Zimbabwe's survival are yet to be resolved. Mugabe must address the massive land distribution problem without damaging Zimbabwe's current agricultural exports. Similarly, Mugabe must find a balance between those who advocate pro-socialist and pro-capitalist economic development policies. The author is very impressed with the freedom of speech and the amount of candid debate in Zimbabwe today. He feels that Zimbabwe well may become one of Africa's few success stories.

Linsell, David. "Transport Is Top Priority." Commerce, January-February 1982, pp. 37-39.

Underscores the importance of Zimbabwe's transport infrastructure, especially railroads, to both Zimbabwean and regional economic prosperity.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in August 1982)

AFRICA GENERAL

Clarke, D. G., et al. Economic Sanctions Against South Africa. Geneva: International University Exchange Fund, 1980, 600 pp. Cited in African Affairs, vol. 81, no. 322 (January 1982), pp. 133-35.

A collection of 14 essays on various aspects of sanctions against South Africa and their impact. Among topics covered are economics, black welfare, oil, finance, international impact, regional trade, agriculture, manufacturing, and migrant labor.

Imobigbe, T. A. "An African High Command: The Search for Feasible Strategy of Continental Defense." African Affairs, April 1980, pp. 241-54. Cited in International Political Science Abstracts, vol. 31, no. 4-5 (August 1981), p. 1431.

The article states that there is little likelihood of an integrated African High Command until the OAU first has defined the types of threats facing the continent and decided which of them are amenable to a joint African effort. Given the complexities of such a Command and the diversity of needs among the African states, the author concludes that a decentralized High Command based on zonal commands would best suit Africa's present needs.

Lilley, Robert J. "The Limits of Superpower Intervention: Africa." Paper prepared for the Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 20 November 1981, 25 pp.

Superpower intervention in sub-Saharan Africa has produced uneven results due to the failure of the superpowers to fully comprehend African-imposed limitations, as well as restrictions imposed by the superpowers themselves. Among the African-imposed limitations cited are nationalism, nonalignment, sanctity of borders, and noninterference in other states' internal affairs. On the other hand, the major powers are constrained by inconsistent policies, the low priority position of Africa, ideology and public opinion. Lilley concludes with several recommendations for US policymakers.

OPEC Fund for International Development. "Sub-Saharan Africa: The Need for a Concerted Strategy." OPEC Review, Spring 1982, pp. 14-26.

Identifies problems common to economically depressed sub-Saharan Africa. The issues of population, food, and financial imbalances are reviewed and the various methods in which oil-rich donor countries may best aid underdeveloped African economies are explored.

Otinanjo, Femi. "Ideology and Military Integration in Africa." Current Research on Peace and Violence, vol. 3, no. 3-4 (1980), pp. 216-28. Cited in International Political Science Abstracts, vol. 31, no. 4-5 (August 1981), p. 1460.

The problems inhibiting the formation of an integrated African High Command, especially those of a political nature, are so formidable that such a command remains unrealistic. The article concludes that "there is no reason to believe that a security council made up of Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zaire, Tanzania, Angola, Uganda and Ghana would have significant success" in liberating Africa from the vestiges of colonialism or safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of African states.

Parra, Alirio A. "The International Role and Commercial Policies of National Oil Companies." OPEC Review, Spring 1982, pp. 1-13.

Reviews the changing role of national oil companies (NOCs). The NOCs were established in reaction to the international majors and to protect national energy interests. In the importing developing countries, NOCs were set up for domestic exploration, production, and sometimes refining. In the exporting developing countries the role of the NOCs was to learn the oil business and take over the industry when existing concessions expired. In the last 3 years the NOCs have largely displaced the international majors in the international oil industry; some NOCs are now beginning to internationalize their activities. The author believes the direct relations between NOCs will better ensure stability of exports and supplies. The majors should not be eliminated, however, for diversity in the system will reduce instability in the international market.

Shafer, Michael. "Minerals Myths." Part I. Foreign Policy, Summer 1982. Reprinted in AF Press Clips, 25 June 1982, pp. 10-13.

Shafer disputes the concern of the Reagan Administration over a future resource war, claiming that the Administration looks to southern African strategic minerals to provide the rationale for a confrontational policy towards the Soviet Union. He claims that although strategic minerals from southern Africa are important and irreplaceable in the American steel and defense industries, US dependence on them is exaggerated through misleading statistical figures.

Simmons, Andre. Arab Foreign Aid. East Brunswick, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981, 196 pp. Reviewed by Robert A. Mertz in Middle East Journal, Summer 1982, pp. 438-39.

Summarizes the establishment of various Arab aid programs following the quadrupling of oil prices in 1973-74. Bilateral aid programs of six Arab countries and six largely Arab-sponsored multilateral aid organizations are described. The author notes that 75 percent of the Arab aid is going to Arab countries; the amount going to sub-Saharan African countries is very small and its impact will be insignificant. Although published in 1981, this book already is dated: statistics only carry through 1976 and the research was conducted in 1977.

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Sylvester, Anthony. Arabs and Africans: Co-operation for Development. London: Bodley Head, 1981, 252 pp. Reviewed by Reginald Herbold Green in International Affairs, Winter 1981-82, pp. 168-69.

Gives a useful summary of Arab aid and a description of Arab institutions serving Africa. Argues effectively against the case that OPEC has been a prime cause of the post-1971 economic crisis. The author accepts the oil exporters' claim that dual pricing to assist poor countries is not feasible. The book is informative but inadequately analytical.

ANGOLA

"Angola: Entre la guerre et la construction (Between War and Construction)." Afrique Asie, 14 June 1982, pp. 5-52.

This entire issue of Afrique Asie is dedicated to Angola. It includes interviews with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge and Minister of Defense Pedro Maria Tonba. Approximately 20 pages concern various aspects of the Angolan economy. The interview with Defense Minister Tonba primarily focuses on South African incursions into southern Angola.

"Angola: Talks About Talks." Africa Confidential, 14 April 1982, pp. 1-3.

An overview of Angola's complex internal and international relations. Domestically, Angola faces two major problems: near total collapse of the economy and increasing instability vis a vis insurgent groups, especially UNITA. Particular attention is paid to UNITA's operations throughout southern Angola, but references also are made to both FNL and FLEC. Internationally, Angola is involved in Namibian independence negotiations, South African incursions into southern Angola, and US and Western pressure to reduce the Cuban presence in Angola and to negotiate with UNITA.

ETHIOPIA

Milkias, Paulos. "The Political Spectrum of Western Education in Ethiopia." Journal of African Studies, vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 22-29.

An analysis of the extent to which education, particularly that which was available to radical elites and junior officers, was one of the necessary catalysts which enhanced the pace of revolutionary ferment that ultimately sealed the fate of the feudal regime in 1974.

GHANA

Hansen, Emmanuel. "The Direction of Ghana's Revolution." West Africa, 26 April 1982, pp. 1125-29.

Dr. Emmanuel Hansen looks at the problems J. J. Rawlings has inherited and examines the Provisional National Defense Council's approach to changing the country.

KENYA

"I Am President of All Kenya." Africa Now, June 1982, pp. 14-15.

The burden of Moi's presidency is how to protect the interests of the nation as a whole without simultaneously appearing to neglect those of the minority groups. Moi has set out to accomplish this task by giving all the districts in Kenya representation at the cabinet level with either a full minister or assistant minister. Along with this, Moi has introduced a distinct style of leadership that avoids personal ostentation or high profile for members of his family.

"Socialist Party--Just a Mirage?" Africa Now, June 1982, p. 18.

Kenya's leading opposition leader, Oginga Odinga, seemingly called for the creation of a socialist party or the transformation of the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) when he addressed the British House of Commons in May. Without referring directly to Kenya, he attacked African regimes that were governed by presidential cliques that represented corrupt professional elites. The United States' security relationship with Kenya was also condemned by Oginga Odinga as an affront to Kenyan law and sovereignty. This article discusses sources of support and possibility of success that Oginga Odinga may enjoy in his newest opposition phase to the leadership of Kenya.

MOZAMBIQUE

Soudan, Francois. "Le Socialisme En Etat de Siege (Socialism in a State of Siege)." Jeune Afrique, 7 July 1982, pp. 30-31.

Mozambique's permanent state of vigilance because of the growing strength of the National Resistance Movement (MNR) is evident in the arming of village communities by FRELIMO for protection from the MNR guerrillas. Never before has FRELIMO's power been so contested internally. The MNR has succeeded in interrupting rail traffic between Zimbabwe and Mozambique for a year and the pipeline linking Beira port to Mutare in Zimbabwe. The political tension seems to have opened up the door to the West.

NAMIBIA

Green, Reginald H. "Transition to what? Some issues of freedom and necessity in Namibia." Development and Change, vol. 11, no. 3 (July 1980), pp. 419-53. Cited in International Political Science Abstracts, vol. 31, no. 4-5 (August 1981), p. 1513.

The author sees Namibia winning independence under a "radical SWAPO government" by 1985. He reportedly focuses on changes in the economic infrastructure following independence, especially employment and income redistribution. The article concludes that Namibia's present "dependence on South Africa is artificial;" other African and international ties will lessen South Africa's hold fairly quickly.

RWANDA

Symphorien, Ntezilizaza. "Rwanda Greets 20th Anniversary of Independence." Japan Times, 1 July 1982, pp. 10-11.

Since 1975, when President Habyarimana founded the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) there has been great emphasis on manual labor--Rwanda's greatest source of economic prosperity since about 90 percent of the population live in rural areas. During its 20 years of independence, Rwanda has established membership in a number of organizations with its neighbors, affording Rwanda a major role in the East and Central African geopolitical scene. The country is experiencing a population explosion which has become one of its major problems. Presently dependent on agriculture for its livelihood, Rwanda is attempting to develop a mining industry and to exploit methane gas from Lake Kivu.

SOUTH AFRICA

Blumenfeld, J. P. "The South Africa Economy: Potential and Pitfalls." The World Today, vol. 36, no. 9 (September 1980), pp. 334-42. Cited in International Political Science Abstracts, vol. 31, no. 4-5 (August 1981), p. 1497.

A favorable analysis of South Africa's short-term economic outlook. The author asserts that "only mismanagement of monetary or fiscal policies" could frustrate short-term economic expansion. However, a shortage of skilled manpower, the small domestic market of manufacturers, and the current world recession may preclude maximum growth potential.

Boniface, Pascal. "Qui a fourni l'uranium (Who supplied the uranium)?" Jeune Afrique, 13 January 1982, p. 36.

The delivery of uranium to South Africa's Koeberg power plant in late 1981 caused an international stir. Who supplied the uranium to South Africa? According to the Washington Post, Beijing was the source. This article states that the Swiss-French consortium Kernkraftwerk Kaiseraugst was the source. The fact that France was involved in this deal may impact adversely on future Franco-African relations.

Major, Reggie. "Uranium: South Africa Seeks Illegal Pact With U.S." New African, October 1981, pp. 36-37.

The article reportedly is based on "leaked" US State Department documents, including a memorandum of conversations on Angola and Namibia between US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Crocker and South African Foreign Minister Botha and Defense Minister Malan. The documents indicate a close working relationship between the Reagan administration and the South African Government. In one document, the South Africans reportedly asked the US to use France as a channel through which to supply enriched uranium to their Koeberg nuclear power plant.

Soudan, Francois. "La Passion de Winnie Mandela (The Passion of Winnie Mandela)." Jeune Afrique, 20 January 1982, pp. 22-23.

A brief account of the life and activities of Winnie Mandela, one of the most popular and respected women in South Africa today. As the wife of African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela, a prisoner on Robben Island since 1963, Winnie Mandela has been subject to banning orders and close surveillance by the South African Police.

"South Africa: Worker Militancy Hits Increased Repression." Africa Now, April 1982, pp. 35-38.

Trade union activities in South Africa during the past 3 years have increased greatly; it is estimated that today there are 250,000 black union members. As the trade unions have become more outspoken and successful, the South African Government has reacted with arrests of union leadership, harassment, suppression, etc. Despite this, the unions refuse to comply with government wishes. Union solidarity was recently shown in a nationwide work stoppage in protest of the death of Dr. Neil Aggett, a white union officer who died while in police custody. Although the unions have cooperated with each other in the past, there is considerable doubt that they are willing to bury their differences and agree to a common policy in the long run.

Weir, Andy and Bloch, Jonathan. "The Militarization of BOSS." CovertAction, no. 13, July-August 1981, pp. 30-33.

A history of the evolution of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) from its inception under General Hendrik Van Den Berg to its current status under the Botha regime. Van Den Berg's BOSS virtually was an intelligence entity unto itself. According to the authors, the Botha regime has substantially restructured BOSS (now known as the National Intelligence Service/NIS) and made it a part of a new integrated intelligence community. The Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) appears to have an important role in establishing and directing intelligence policies. The authors contend that the more South Africa is isolated or sees itself as isolated, the more it will have to rely on its intelligence services to "neutralize its enemies, boost trade and prestige, and conduct diplomacy." Consequently, the Botha government wants a more integrated intelligence community.

ZAIRE

Essomba, Philippe. "La Decentralization en March (Decentralization In Action)." Bingo, July 1982, pp. 22-23.

From May to September 1982, elections at different political levels will be taking place. They will create regional power structures and a new territorial organization which will introduce decentralization in the political-administrative system, and which will represent the population on local levels in everyday issues.

Muepu, Tshimanga. "Financement Externe et Integration Economique Au Zaire (External Financing and Economic Integration in Zaire)." Geneve-Afrique. vol. 19, no. 2 (1981), pp. 105-32.

Social and economic development in Zaire has three goals: economic independence, improvements in the standard of living, and construction of a new society. A detailed discussion of the impact of foreign investments concludes that they do not result in the integration of the Zairian economy; in fact, there is a need for a complete overhaul of the economy because the present structure does not permit maximum use of economic surplus.

Sysle, Mariam. "Le Bagne (Penal Servitude)." Afrique-Asie, 26 April 1982, pp. 18-20.

A document circulated by a opposition group in Kinsbasa, calling itself the Congolese Patriotic Front, analyzes the economic, political and social situation of the country. It emphasizes that the parasitic nature of the country's leadership is the cause of Zaire's economic slump. It also points out the tribal politics of the ruling party. There is an additional section on the importance of the Catholic Church which has always been powerful in Zaire.

ZIMBABWE

"Zimbabwe: Economic Planners Face Dilemmas." Africa News, 5 April 1982, pp. 5-6, 11.

The growth of Zimbabwe's GNP has dropped from a high of 14 percent in 1980 to a projected 4-5 percent this year. Zimbabwe's economists are finding it difficult to balance between the expectations of black majority and the confidence of private investors and skilled white workers. In addition, these planners must cope with a drop in the price of minerals, the ill effects of a severe drought on Zimbabwe's export crops, and the political unrest arising from Nkomo's ouster from the government earlier this year -- not to mention South Africa's reported attempts to destabilize the Mugabe regime.

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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
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AFRICA GENERAL

Coker, Christopher. "The Western Alliance and Africa, 1949-1981." African Affairs, vol. 81, no. 324 (July 1982), pp. 319-35.

The author reviews past events concerning NATO and its interactions with Africa, placing special emphasis on such studies as the Cape Route, Zaire, and the Portuguese Empire in Africa.

Hudson, Michael C. "Reagan's Policy in Northeast Africa." Africa Report, March-April 1982.

Points out instances in which US foreign policy in Northeast Africa has backfired because policymakers have lacked an understanding of the complexities of the region. The Reagan administration, with its "global ideological fixation on the Soviet threat," is not taking other important factors into consideration in dealing with the countries in the region. Hudson feels US interests would be better served by a policy of blurring the line between "good guys" and "bad guys" instead of sharpening it.

Hull, Richard W. Southern Africa: Civilizations in Turmoil. New York: New York University Press, 1981, 168 pp. Cited in Current History, March 1982, p. 129.

A very broad history of the various ethnic and racial conflicts throughout southern Africa. Reportedly an excellent background study.

Malan, Theo. "Nationalisation Policies in Africa." Bulletin (Africa Institute of South Africa), vol. 21, no. 19 (1981), pp. 145-47.

Malan, an economist at the Africa Institute in Pretoria, delivered this paper at a South African businessmen's seminar in 1981. He discusses various ways in which African governments have assumed or tried to assume control over aspects of their economies, including direct nationalization, indirect nationalization, the creation of state corporations, "indigenization," and Africanization. All of these policies, Malan contends, have adversely affected the local economies.

Leistner, G. M. E. "Towards a Regional Development Strategy for Southern Africa." The South African Journal of Economics, vol. 49, no. 4 (December 1981), pp. 349-64.

In this paper delivered to the Economic Society of South Africa in September 1981, the author discusses the economic, political and administrative problems facing "regional development projects" throughout Africa. Particular attention is paid to the viability of such regional groups as ECOWAS, CEAQ, and the now defunct EAC. Concludes that cooperation in the long term is most beneficial to all parties, but African countries must move slowly

into closer cooperation; in fact, "cooperation" is preferred to hasty economic "integration" at the outset. The author urges the South African policymakers to opt for cooperation rather than conflict and political tensions.

"Political Tensions Cloud Arab-African Co-operation." Middle East Economic Digest, 4 June 1982, pp. 24-27.

In the wake of Zaire's reestablishment of relations with Israel, there is considerable disquiet among some African nations that they are not being sufficiently rewarded for their anti-Israeli stance. In reality, Arab economic support for Africa has been growing significantly in recent years, and has totaled \$7.5 billion since 1973. The largest Arab private sector investment is in Sudan's troubled Kenana sugar project, and, traditionally, African Muslim states have been the recipients of most Arab aid. Includes a chart listing Arab loans and technical assistance to Africa in 1981.

Shihata, Ibrahim. "Aid Strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa." OPEC Bulletin, April 1982, pp. 1-5.

Shihata, the Director General of the OPEC Fund for International Development, reviews the consensus reached about Africa's economic problems in recent studies by international aid organizations. These studies call for domestic economic reforms. Shihata feels "a narrow focus on the improvement of strictly economic issues may not succeed in creating an encouraging climate for investment and development, and could . . . lead to adverse social consequences." He suggests aid could be made more effective through "policy reforms of individual donors; greater coordination among donors; and creation of appropriate new institutional frameworks for channeling additional capital flows to Sub-Saharan Africa." He stresses the need to create a multilateral investment corporation to allow the investment of surplus funds in developing countries.

ANGOLA

Zanotelli, Alessandro. "Guerra Su Tutti i Fronti (War On All Fronts)." Nigritizia, June 1982, pp. 16-17.

Angola, formerly one of the richest countries in Africa, today suffers from famine and is in economic collapse. The internal guerrilla movement and the constant military incursions by South Africa make it almost impossible to distribute agricultural products in the country's interior, and some regions which might survive on fish must compete with the Soviet exploitation of fisheries. The most serious problem Angola faces comes from Namibia from which South Africa launches attacks. In the past, South Africa penetrated Angola from Namibia only to pursue SWAPO guerrillas, but more recently the attacks are aimed directly at Angola. The increased military activity of South Africa has contributed to the increased success of UNITA.

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BURUNDI

"La Parole Est Au Burundi (Focus on Burundi)." Jeune Afrique, 4 August 1982, pp. 33-67.

After 20 years of independence, Burundi has achieved a political life, re-organized its economy, and given the people a national conscience. This series of articles review the country's history and its economic, industrial and agricultural plans for the future.

CONGO

"Congo 82." Jeune Afrique, 11 August 1982, pp. 43-70.

A series of articles on the Congo including a short history of the country's development, a brief political description, and a detailed description of the 1982-86 Five-Year Economic Plan and its goals. The Congo is believed to have the potential to become the largest producer of oil in the Gulf of Guinea. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the Republic, has based his policies on denouncing waste and luxury and subsequently has based the Five-Year Plan on developing agricultural self-sufficiency and exploiting and exporting primary resources.

ETHIOPIA

Vecchiato, Norberto L. "Non Sposare Il Fabbro (Don't Marry the Artisan)." Nigrizia, June 1982, pp. 18-21.

The objectives that the military proposed during its February 1974 revolution were announced on the radio in September of the same year, and included a sociopolitical and economic program which was aimed at eliminating social injustice, corruption, excessive bureaucracy, and unequal land distribution. Progress in the modernization of the country in recent years has permitted access of almost all of the Ethiopian people to manufactured products; this development, however, has the potential to destroy traditional artisanry--the basis of the Ethiopian way of life.

GABON

"La Parole Est Au Gabon (Focus on Gabon)." Jeune Afrique, 11 August 1982, pp. 7-27, 85-108.

After 15 years in power, President Omar Bongo is one of the few African leaders to achieve such political longevity. His rule, however, has resulted in waste and corruption, and the national wealth is not equitably divided. This article examines the country's economic, industrial and agricultural growth and preparations for the time when the oil dries up. It also discusses the growth of transportation infrastructures and the economic capital, Port-Gentil.

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GHANA

Jeffries, Richard. "Rawlings and the Political Economy of Underdevelopment in Ghana." African Affairs, vol. 81, no. 324 (July 1982), pp. 307-17.

A review of the "second coming" of Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings. The author, a lecturer in African politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, provides a detailed account of Ghana's political structure and problems under Nkrumah and Limann.

LESOTHO

Lye, William F. "Lesotho: The Politics of Survival." Universities Field Staff International Reports, no. 11, 1982, 11 pp.

Although Lesotho is a proud independent country, it is dwarfed and virtually controlled by South Africa's economic superiority. Lye traces the history of the Sotho peoples from the late 18th century to today. Economic and political expediency seem to govern relations with South Africa. In sum, Lye indicates that the problems of a growing population, a shrinking agricultural base, and almost total dependence on South Africa's need for migrant labor bode ill for Lesotho's future.

MADAGASCAR

Leymarie, Philippe. "Madagascar: La Course de Vitesse des Socialistes (The Speedy Course of the Socialists)." Le Monde Diplomatique, July 1982, pp. 16-19.

President Ratsiraka promised Socialism by the year 2000, but economic difficulties have intervened, causing shortages of basic commodities and riots in the streets of Antananarivo. Some attribute the provocation of the riots to tribal groups who want provincial independence in contrast to the eradication of tribalism proposed by Ratsiraka's 1975 Boky Mena (Red Book). Politically, the seeds of discord are rooted in different views within AREMA, the ruling party, of social class structure. Yet the Socialist government has nationalized industries, established democratic and decentralized institutions, and reinstated the "fokonolona," the precolonial self-managed village community.

MAURITANIA

Schissel, Howard. "Mauritania's Political Sandstorms." Middle East International, 4 June 1982, pp. 10-11.

Former President Salek's abortive coup attempt last February brought the relative stability of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to an abrupt end. The coup attempt revealed the ideological and political shortcomings of the Haidalla regime. Lacking a well-defined political course, Haidalla acts as an arbiter between the diverse ideological groups which constitute the Mauritanian body politic. A sign of possible future trouble is the fact that Arab budgetary aid for Mauritania in 1981 was only a third of what it was in

1980. Arab financial assistance is absolutely vital to the Mauritanian economy.

Schissel, Howard. "Stability for the Time Being." West Africa, 28 June 1982, pp. 1685-86.

After a 2-year period of instability (three prime ministers and three presidents), Lt-Col Haidalla seems to have consolidated his hold on power, but at the price of creating a dangerous political vacuum around himself. On the plus side, since the 1975 outbreak of the Western Saharan conflict, the diplomatic situation has rarely been so favorable for Mauritania. However, Mauritania's future still remains highly uncertain.

MOZAMBIQUE

"Mozambique: Havoc in the Bush." Africa Confidential, 21 July 1982, pp. 1-5.

In spite of the MNR's repeated attacks on road and rail traffic which have succeeded in occasional serious disruptions of internal traffic, the present MNR orbit encompasses the least populated areas of Mozambique and therefore poses little danger to the FRELIMO government. A history of the growth of the MNR is presented, including biographic accounts of Jorge Jadim, Orlando Cristina and Evo Fernandes who were powerful in colonial Mozambique and have been active in opposing the FRELIMO government. Another FRELIMO opposition group supported by Malawi's President Banda is Africa Livre.

NAMIBIA

"SWA/Namibia's Economic Problems Viewed in Africa Context." Bulletin (Africa Institute of South Africa), vol. 21, nos. 11 & 12 (1981), pp. 81-96.

A detailed South African study of various aspects of the Namibian economy prior to independence. The article warns that there are economic realities which should not be dismissed blithely in order to transform quickly the Namibian economy from open market to Socialist. Examples of such errors are drawn from numerous other African countries which tried to adopt new economic structures too quickly after independence. Concludes with 14 statistical charts on almost every aspect of the Namibian economy.

RWANDA

"Rwanda 82." Jeune Afrique, 11 August 1982, pp. 99-109.

Since General Habyarimana came into power in July 1973, the country has been waging a battle against underdevelopment. Progress has been achieved most notably in the road and building infrastructures. However, the agricultural sector, which occupies 95 percent of the population, is plagued by archaic methods and poor yields, and the communication system is poor.

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SEYCHELLES

Le Brun, Olivier. "De l'Esclavage au Socialisme (From Slavery to Socialism)." Le Monde Diplomatique, July 1982, p. 20.

The Seychelles suffer from enormous handicaps on the road to development, including its insignificant market for industry and its great distance from neighboring continents causing high exporting costs. Nonetheless, President Albert Rene has utilized the isolation of the islands to develop a unique form of Democratic Socialism which has successfully guaranteed 100 percent employment and a social security program, free medical services in each district which have reduced infant mortality and instituted a family planning program, free preschool and daycare facilities, and free education. Rene has set about establishing a state economy parallel to that of the private sector, has created an effective army with Tanzanian aid, and has established Creole as the national language. Written before the attempted coup by members of the Seychelles Army.

SOMALIA

Henze, Paul B. "How Stable is Siad Barre's Regime?" Africa Report, March-April 1982.

Siad has been in power almost 13 years but his regime is still very unstable and he has been unable to institutionalize his revolution. Somalia is now feeling the consequences of his irredentist policies. Ironically, one of the country's heaviest burdens--the Ogaden refugees and victims of Siad's irredentist ambitions--is also a major source of relief. Foreign emergency aid in 1981 was equivalent to about one-third of the country's GNP. Somalis will continue to suffer from the effects of Siad's politico-military adventurism for a long time. Somalia's relations with the United States during the past few years are summarized.

SOUTH AFRICA

Bernstein, Hilda. "African National Congress: Seventy Years On." South, March 1982, pp. 28-29.

A pro-African National Congress (ANC) article which outlines the history of the organization from its inception in 1912 through its banning in South Africa in the 1960s to its status today.

"Defence: Facts on Record." Financial Mail, 16 April 1982, pp. 253-54.

A summary of the major points found in the White Paper on Defence and Armaments Supply placed before the South African parliament by Defense Minister Magnus Malan in April 1982.

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D'Oliveira, John A. "P. W. Botha's 'Window of Opportunity'." African Index, vol. 5, no. 3 (22 March 1982), pp. 9-12.

D'Oliveira contends that Prime Minister Botha personally orchestrated the February 1982 split in the National Party (NP). Had he waited until after the release of the President's Council's report on "power sharing," many more right wing party members would have followed Dr. Treurnicht out of the NP. The author believes that Botha has moved the center of gravity of South African politics more to the left. The bulk of the article discusses the disunity among the various right wing factions and the long-term prospects of the Council's report.

Goosen, Helena. "SAS Simonsberg: Ship on Dry Land." South African Panorama, July 1982, pp. 18-23.

A description of the South African naval training unit at Simonstown. The training unit contains 16 special schools which teach seamanship, diving, NBCD (Nuclear, Biological, Chemical and Damage Control), catering, signals, physical training, leadership, hydrography, administration, languages, finance, tactics, artillery, and supply and logistics. The unit handles up to 3,000 cadets annually. Courses range from 1-day refresher courses to training sessions lasting 9 months. Both whites and coloreds reportedly receive instruction here. The article contains numerous photos of training sessions.

Groenwald, Coen. "ARMSCOR: South Africa's Shield." South African Panorama, April 1982, pp. 1-7.

A comprehensive official South African description of the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (ARMSCOR). Covers the history of the corporation, an organizational explanation of ARMSCOR, etc. Contains numerous excellent photos of various ARMSCOR weapons.

"Security Legislation: Perspective on Law and Order." Financial Mail, 5 February 1982, pp. 523-25.

A presentation of the official South African view of the Rabie Commission's investigation into South Africa's security legislation. The article sees the Commission's recommendations, including the creation of three new security crimes--terrorism, subversion and sabotage--as "a welcome practical perspective."

"South Africa: Apartheid Design At Issue In Kangwane." Africa News, 29 March 1982, pp. 6-9.

The first in a series of articles focusing on changes in South Africa's traditional domestic and foreign policies. This article concerns recent changes in the independent homeland policy. By ceding the Kangwane homeland to Swaziland rather than granting it independence, the Botha regime shows that it is more concerned with foreign policy and counterinsurgency issues than with another independent homeland. South Africa hopes both to draw Swaziland closer into its orbit and to control more closely the flow of ANC

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guerrillas through Swaziland into South Africa. The article contains a brief historical view of Swaziland and the South African homelands.

"U.S./South Africa: House Study Probes Causes of Arms Embargo Breakdown." Africa News, 26 April 1982, pp. 6-10.

A summary of findings of an investigation by the US House of Representative's Subcommittee on Africa (Committee on Foreign Affairs) into the failure of the US arms embargo against South Africa. The study focuses on weapons shipped by the Space Research Corporation of Vermont to South Africa. According to the report, these weapons were used by the South Africans to develop the new 155-mm G5 artillery gun.

Venter, Al J. "Death On the Skeleton Coast: 32 Battalion Scrubs SWAPO's End Run." Soldier of Fortune, October 1982, pp. 54-59.

Venter describes a recent South African incursion into southern Angola. Codenamed Operation Super, the black troops of the 32d Battalion hit SWAPO bases in southwestern Angola. An addendum to the article entitled "South Africa's Armory" describes how South Africa uses and adapts much of the captured Soviet-made equipment. Contains some interesting action photos of troops in the field.

SUDAN

Wai, Dunston M. "Crisis in North-South Relations." Africa Report, March-April 1982, pp. 20-26.

Provides a concise account of the problems and issues involved in Sudan's North-South relations from a southerner's point of view. The author is critical of Nimeiry's plan to divide the south into several regions. He also discusses the fragility of the present political system. Wai does not believe the political system developed by Nimeiry could stand on its own because the hierarchy is not committed to institutional frameworks "but rather to a single leader who can define to a large extent permissible forms of political interaction." The Sudan Socialist Union probably could not handle the problem of Nimeiry's succession.

UGANDA

Chatterjee, S. K. "Some Legal Problems of Support Role in International Law: Tanzania and Uganda." International and Comparative Law Quarterly, October 1981, pp. 755-68.

Chatterjee examines the legal aspects of Tanzania's intervention in Uganda to overthrow Amin. The Uganda situation has raised several questions which international law has not dealt with before. Widespread approval of Tanzania's actions by the international community is probably the most unique aspect of the situation.

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ZAIRE

Kalb, Madeleine G. "Zaire: Mobutu and Beyond." The Washington Quarterly, Summer 1982, pp. 143-48.

The basis for US support of President Mobutu's rightwing dictatorship is Zaire's mineral resources and its geographical location in view of the turmoil in Angola and Namibia. The Reagan administration, while acknowledging the problem of corruption under the Mobutu regime, is anxious to provide Zaire with a large amount of military aid to be closely monitored in spite of Congressional opposition which resulted in Mobutu's recent renunciation of US assistance. It is the belief of the Reagan administration that Mobutu is the only leader who would be capable of holding the vast country together, thus maintaining its stability. The article suggests that it is necessary to seek a way to prevent a post-Mobutu debacle comparable to the present situation in Iran.

ZIMBABWE

Abrahams, Mark. "PTA: Business As Usual." Commerce (Harare), May 1982, pp. 13-15.

Zimbabwe and the other eight members of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) have stated that their prime objective is to lessen economic dependence on South Africa. However, until these countries "get their act together," they will have to rely on and deal with South Africa. Zimbabwe's recent signing of the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) with South Africa underscores this reality.

Martin, David and Johnson, Phyllis. The Struggle for Zimbabwe. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1981, 378 pp. Cited in Current History, March 1982, p. 129.

Focuses on the guerrilla war in Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe between 1972 and independence in 1980. Reportedly contains an "enormous amount of detail" about the membership of ZANU and its military wing, ZANLA.

"Zimbabwe: Economy -- Performance in the New Republic.", Africa, April 1982, pp. 69-83.

A favorable analysis of the success of Zimbabwe's economy during the first 2 years of independence. In addition to an overview of the economy, a more detailed look is given to the banking, agricultural, mining, tourist and transport sectors.

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AFRICA GENERAL

Baaklini, Abdo. "Emerging Patterns of Economic Relationships: The Middle East and Africa." Journal of African Studies, Summer 1982, pp. 58-67.

Two models--exploitative and benevolent--of Arab aid to Africa are examined and rejected for being too general and lacking "conceptual clarity." Instead, the author proposes a political regime model which considers national and international constraints within which the Arab oil-producing countries operate. Several types of economic interactions between Arab and African states are discussed and lead to the conclusion that Arab aid to Africa does not benefit the economies of the oil-producing countries; industrially advanced countries, however, seem to benefit most by the various economic interactions.

Desfosses, Helen. "North-South or East-West? Constructs for Superpower African Policy in the Eighties." Journal of International Affairs, Fall/Winter 1980/81, pp. 369-93.

The Third World, once an apolitical force in the determination of international relations, has now become significant in causing changes in the configurations of power distribution. North-South tensions can create complications for East-West competition, and it is thus beneficial to both the United States and the USSR to control the scope and intensity of North-South rivalry. The superpowers have strongly resisted the replacement of the East-West paradigm by a North-South one since they covet their positions of power and status. Neither, therefore, is willing to make extensive aid commitments to Third World countries. A detailed section is included on the interests of the superpowers in southern African liberation movements and South Africa.

Jackson, Henry F. From the Congo to Soweto: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Africa Since 1960. New York: Morrow, 1982, 324 pp. Reviewed by Jennifer Whitaker in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 5 (Summer 1982), p. 1206.

This study touches all bases including cases of US involvement in Africa, US interests in Africa's minerals and strategic outposts, and the concern of American blacks with Africa since the 19th century. Riding his thesis rather hard, Jackson argues strongly against the US tendency to react to African crises in cold war terms.

Jackson, Robert H. and Rosberg, Carl G. Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982, 316 pp. Reviewed by Jennifer Whitaker in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 5 (Summer 1982), p. 1205.

The governance of African leaders since independence is examined in this study. The authors assess African leaders according to their ability to hold things together rather than their development performance. They show that there is an impressive group of skilled leaders who have survived over a long period of time.

Kotecha, Ken C. and Adams, Robert W. The Corruption of Power: African Politics. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981, 473 pp.

A comparative study of the politics and governments in modern Africa. The authors attempt to puncture myths about the quality and purpose of government in many of the newly independent African states. They premise that most African leaders have been unable to make democracy work in such a way as to protect the representative forms of government inherited from colonial powers.

Liebenow, J. Gus. "SADCC: Challenging the 'South African Connection'." Hanover, New Hampshire: Universities Field Staff International, Inc., 1982, 15 pp.

An overview of the strengths and weaknesses of each of the member states of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Liebenow is optimistic that the SADCC will overcome its numerous economic and transport problems in the long run. But the author also underscores the immediate and dominant economic presence of South Africa in the region. As a balance, he outlines the strengths and weaknesses of South Africa's economy and proposed "Constellation of States"--a counter organization to the SADCC.

Luckham, Robin. "Le Militarisme Francaise en Afrique (French Militarism in Africa)." Politique Africaine, February 1982, pp. 95-110; May 1982, pp. 45-71.

This comprehensive study presents graphs to show trends emphasizing the importance of France's military in Africa over the past quarter century.

A discussion of France's policy of stabilization in Africa. Policy changes under various French governments from DeGaulle to Mitterrand are discussed. Despite proposed changes by the new Socialist government and the unequal relationship between France and its African allies, few policy changes will occur. Africa is an important market for France's arms industry and present economics necessitate continued sales of weapons.

Nikolayev, D. "For Peace and Security in the Indian Ocean." International Affairs (Moscow), September 1982, pp. 57-64.

The concept of creating a "zone of peace" in the Indian Ocean is aimed at a reduction of international tensions in the region and the preservation of the independence of regional states. The Soviet Union supports proposals which would eliminate all foreign military bases; it also has its own interests in the region. First, the USSR fears tension in an area close to its southern border. Second, the Indian Ocean is the only ice-free sea route connecting the European and Far Eastern areas of the Soviet Union. Third, the USSR carries out scientific research in the region related to peaceful uses of outer space. And fourth, many Indian Ocean countries maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

Nolutshungu, Sam C. "African Interests and Soviet Power: The Local Context of Soviet Policy." Soviet Studies, July 1982, pp. 397-417.

Focuses on relations between the Soviet Union and Africa. The two general Soviet objectives in these relations are to encourage the African states toward nonalignment, and to support them in their struggles against imperialist powers. The recent expansion of Soviet naval power in the Indian Ocean can be seen as facilitating Soviet access to the African continent and as the basis for developing friendly relations with the littoral states. However, the author argues that this point of view is not supported by actual Soviet conduct and that the naval buildup is part of the arms competition between East and West. He concludes that no fundamental change has occurred in Soviet-African relations since they were first developed.

Smiley, Xan. "Misunderstanding Africa." Atlantic Monthly, September 1982.

Smiley begins and ends his article discussing journalists' misunderstanding of the African situation. This misunderstanding ranges from ignorance of the continent to self-censorship resulting from "Western guilt." He is particularly opposed to journalists who write more critically of white-on-black oppression than of black-on-black. The author points out that the major problems in Africa are a result of the artificially imposed colonial borders. He suggests that many of these problems would be resolved if the current African states redid their borders according to tribal areas, etc. The article also discusses Africa's duality in political thinking toward the West. The Africans want Western economic aid but reject the methodology of capitalism. However, the author hastily points out, only three of the OAU's fifty member states "toe the Soviet line"--Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia.

"Southern Africa: South Africa Holds Gun To Neighbors." Africa News, 27 September 1982, pp. 4-6.

An overview of South Africa's policy of "destabilization" throughout Southern Africa. In the case of Angola, South Africa uses outright military power to keep the Luanda regime from gaining solid control of Angola and from supporting SWAPO. In both Zimbabwe and Mozambique, South Africa supports insurgency groups and economic sabotage to keep these governments from successfully supporting anti-South African groups. And stemming from the British colonial days, South Africa maintains tight economic control over Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

Steinbach, Udo. "The Horn of Africa: The Unsolved Crisis." Lo Spettatore Internazionale, October-December 1982, pp. 283-96.

Examines the political and economic problems which are causing instability in the countries of the Horn. In addition to the internal problems, instability in the region is exacerbated by the "burden of the presence of the superpowers." A good brief overview of Ethiopia's political situation during the past few years is given.

Valkenier, Elizabeth Kridl. "Great Power Economic Competition in Africa: Soviet Progress and Problems." Journal of International Affairs, Fall/Winter 1980/81, pp. 259-68.

The inability of the Soviet Union to compete with the West in economic aid will severely limit future Soviet activities in Africa. The USSR has failed to gain exclusive access to natural resources in any country, and its specialists have conceded that Africans treat the USSR as an expendable trade partner, preferring the greater flexibility and better terms of Western agreements. The rise in arms sales to Africa since 1974 is, in part, an effort to cover the large Soviet trade deficit. The author divides Soviet economic development into three phases; in the latest phase, she claims the USSR recognizes the benefits of the Western presence in the development of African countries.

Villar, Roger. "Vital Sea Routes." Navy International, August 1982, pp. 1260-63.

The fact that few nations could survive without seaborne trade has focused attention on the need to identify possible alternative sources of vital supplies which are presently concentrated in vulnerable areas of the world. The primary example is Arabian Gulf oil which must be shipped through choke points in the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea. Another example is mineral-rich South Africa. The author concludes that the present lack of protection, by Western Europe and Japan in particular, of their supply sources and trade routes must be corrected.

BOTSWANA

"Botswana Parades Its Soviet and American Armour." African Defense, July 1982, p. 52.

The Botswana Defense Force (BDF) paraded both American- and Soviet-manufactured vehicles in the 1982 Defense Force Day celebrations in Gaborone. British-made aircraft from the Army's small air wing flew over the ceremony as well. The article contends that the presence of Soviet-made equipment in Botswana primarily is to show the world that Botswana is not in either superpower's camp. The article also contains photos of some US- and British-made equipment.

CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

"La Parole est à la République Centrafricaine (Focus on the Central African Republic)." Jeune Afrique, 6 October 1982, pp. 47-68.

Under the subtitle "Year one of National Recovery," the Central African Republic's conditions and prospects are highlighted. Although the series of articles is primarily for promotion, some important facts and political statements can be gleaned. The article contains statements by General Andre Kolingba, the President of the Military Committee for National Recovery, who plans to emphasize economic recovery for the immediate future.

CONGO

"Congo 1982." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 2 July 1982, pp. 1741-1882.

This comprehensive and detailed overview of the Congo's economy includes information on the agricultural and industrial sectors, infrastructure development, trade relations, the tourist industry, social structure, and the financial sector.

GHANA

Chazan, Naomi. "Ethnicity and Politics in Ghana." Political Science Quarterly, vol. 97, no. 3 (Fall 1982), pp. 461-85.

Examines political manifestations of ethnicity in the seven regimes which have governed Ghana since independence. Explores the politicization of ethnicity, the uses of ethnicity in political conflicts, and the conversion of ethnicity into power. Asserts that the rhythm of ethnic politics in Ghana is a function of state actions and of the fluctuations of state power.

Okeke, Barbara E. 4 June: A Revolution Betrayed. Enugu, Nigeria: Ikenga Publishers, 1982.

Traces the rise to power of Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings and the role he played in averting intense violence on civilians in Ghana after successive changes in governments. The author outlines the policies of successive governments which have led to Ghana's economic decline.

GUINEA

Biau, Christian. "L'Homme Qui Ose Dire Non a de Gaulle (The Man Who Dared Say No to DeGaulle)." L'Express, 24 September 1982, pp. 90-91.

A biographical sketch of Sekou Toure who was received recently at the Elysee Palace after 24 years of estrangement from France. The history of Guinea during these years essentially is presented as a cataloguing of Toure's actions and statements.

IVORY COAST

Gouffern, Louis. "Les Limites d'un Modele? A Propos d'Etat et Bourgeoisie en Cote-d'Ivoire (The Limits of a Model? Apropos the State and the Bourgeoisie in the Ivory Coast)." Politique Africaine, vol. 2, no. 6 (May 1982), pp. 19-34.

The Ivory Coast survives on heavy French investments, state participation and total ownership of some industries as well as a political policy encouraging private ownership and industry. All sectors feel the effects of high government borrowing to maintain a high rate of development.

KENYA

Ogot, Bethwell A. Historical Dictionary of Kenya. Scarecrow Press: Methuen, New Jersey, 1981, 279 pp. Reviewed by Ann Thurston in African Affairs, July 1982, pp. 444-45.

This dictionary gives a historical chronology of events with primary emphasis on the development of nationalism. The criteria for inclusion of entries is not clear. The book contains useful biographical sketches of 20th century political figures, though many important figures are left out. It has useful definitions of institutions, administrative terms and place names, and a bibliography.

MADAGASCAR

Malley, Simon. "Didier Ratsiraka: Des Verites a Dire (Didier Ratsiraka Speaks the Truth)." Afrique-Asie, 19 July 1982, pp. 22-25.

In this interview, Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka, responds to questions on international issues, especially those of Lebanon and Chad, and on the approaching OAU meeting in Tripoli.

MAURITIUS

Bobb, Dilip; Chandran, Ramesh; and Gunesh, Teklall. "Firmly Bound." India Today, 15 September 1982, pp. 73, 75.

The recent invitation to and subsequent visit by Indira Gandhi to Mauritius is regarded in Mauritius as an effort on the part of the new government to demonstrate to the Mauritian Hindu community that it is not anti-Hindu and, in a broader scope, to emphasize India's support for Mauritius' efforts to regain possession of Diego Garcia and keep the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. In general, it was a successful effort to place Indian-Mauritian relations on a new and much higher level than those maintained by the previous government. The Indian Government views Mauritius with its strategic location and dominant Hindu population as an important cog in the Indian Ocean wheel.

MOZAMBIQUE

Wolfers, Michael. "Mozambique Breaks Its Dependency." South, August 1982, pp. 21-22.

Mozambique has learned that the single factor crucial to successful economic independence is the potential of a government or party to continue to mobilize large sections of the population and maintain two-way communication. As a result, it is one of the rare Third World countries to show signs of breaking out of the dependency trap of colonialism. Widespread efforts to make improvements in all sectors are made possible by foreign investments and skilled technicians.

NAMIBIA

Cronje, Gillian and Cronje, Suzzane. The Workers of Namibia. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1979, 135 pp. Reviewed in Africa Quarterly, vol. 20, nos. 3-4 (1982), pp. 126-27.

A very critical study of apartheid's exploitation of Namibian workers in Namibia.

NIGER

"Niger." Europe Outremer, January 1982, entire issue.

Articles range from political treatises, including an interview with Niger's president, to a detailed assessment of Niger's uranium installations and their production potential.

NIGERIA

Lubeck, P. "Conscience de Classe et Nationalisme Islamique a Kano (Class Consciousness and Islamic Nationalism in Kano)." Politique Africaine, vol. 1, no. 4 (November 1981), pp. 15-30.

The political and socioeconomic ferment in Kano city and province of Nigeria have resulted from both modernizing capitalist and traditional Islamic inputs. Islam conditions attitudes which justify and condemn accumulation of wealth and modernizing Western values. The stresses on society in northern Nigeria are felt most keenly in Kano and may foreshadow more general trends which will engulf Muslim societies elsewhere.

Nicolas, Guy. "Guerre Sainte a Kano (Holy War in Kano)." Politique Africaine, vol. 1, no. 4 (November 1981), pp. 31-46.

Probably the major work on the Kano riots of December 1980. The author discounts claims that the riots were incited by outside influences and that they were dominated by foreigners. The social, economic and political ferment in Kano contain all the elements for disorder. Islamic values and Muslim leaders seek to provide social solutions for the "proletarization and pauperization" of Muslim peasants, and under the leadership of a charismatic leader, violence is an important option. Westernization and modernization were denounced as anti-Muslim and a call for jihad resulted in a major crisis. Specific personalities and events involved in the riots are described as well as the unique political circumstances present in Kano today.

SENEGAL

Mendy, Justin and Kiba, Simon. "Les Problemes de l'Universite de Dakar (The Problems of the University of Dakar)." Bingo, August 1982, pp. 22-27.

Nearly 13,000 students are enrolled at the University of Dakar which was constructed for only 6,000. Government plans for decentralization and the opening of a new campus at St. Louis are running behind schedule and are opposed by many who fear that the government cannot maintain the new facility adequately. The domination of French remains a significant problem as well

as the curriculum which seems ill-adapted to the needs of a developing nation.

SOMALIA

"Somalia: Of Barre's Making." Africa Confidential, 8 September 1982, pp. 1-4.

Summarizes the status of the conflict between the Somali Government and Ethiopian and SSDF forces in Somalia. It speculates on what the Ethiopians would perceive as advantages and disadvantages in either advancing further into Somalia or remaining where they are.

SOUTH AFRICA

Bissel, Richard E. South Africa and the United States: The Erosion of An Influence Relationship. New York: Praeger, 1982, 147 pp. Cited in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 5 (Summer 1982), p. 1205.

The author argues that US influence with South Africa has declined "because of faltering American resolve to combat communism." Although the reviewer is critical of this basic thesis, he does feel that it merits some consideration.

Meldrum, Andy. "New Charges of Covert Action by Pretoria." Africa News, 13 September 1982, pp. 1-2.

Former members of the Rhodesian military who presently serve in the South African Defense Force (SADF) reportedly stated that they have been sent on "destabilization" raids into both Zimbabwe and Mozambique by the SADF on many occasions. They also contend that there is a "destabilization center" in SADF headquarters in Pretoria. According to the author of the article, these soldiers have told their story only after the SADF denied any responsibility for the three white SADF soldiers who were killed recently inside Zimbabwe. The wives and children of these soldiers will not receive insurance or other benefits because the SADF stated that the soldiers were acting without SADF authority. The former Rhodesian soldiers are very bitter that the SADF regards them merely as "cannon fodder."

North, David M. "Aerospace in South Africa: Navy Moving To Missile Attack Craft." Aviation Week & Space Technology, 21 June 1982, pp. 44-45.

A discussion of South Africa's changing naval policy. Since the implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa, its navy has steadily moved away from a "deep water" defense policy to a more limited coastal defense policy. This coastal defense is based on the Israeli-designed Scorpion missile-equipped Reschef class fast attack craft. These missiles and ships are built in South Africa. The article contains some specifics on the overall naval capabilities of South Africa, and the author includes a discussion of South Africa's fears concerning a Soviet naval presence in both Angola and Mozambique.

Parker, Robin. "SAAF's Old Reliabes." South African Digest, 3 September 1982, pp. 12-13.

A short article on the South African Air Force's sea surveillance group. This unit is one of the last in the world to use the Avro Shackleton Mark III aircraft; it has been flying them since 1957. The unit is credited with numerous rescue missions; it was a part of the worldwide rescue operation set up for the reentry and splash down of the Apollo 13 moonshot. The article contains several photos of the group.

Sjollema, Baldwin. Isolating Apartheid. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982, 136 pp. Cited in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 5 (Summer 1982), pp. 1205-06.

Although the book is described as a "scattershot assault on apartheid," the reviewer states that it is useful for its documentation of little-known facts about Western antiapartheid groups and activities.

"South Africa Gets Another Large Computer And 2500 Shock Batons." Africa News, 27 September 1982, pp. 1-3.

The article is somewhat critical of the Reagan administration's policy of weakening the traditional US adherence to the arms embargo against South Africa. South Africa recently was allowed to purchase a large quantity of "shock batons," a very advanced computer system, several aircraft, and some important nuclear-related equipment from US companies. The article notes that the regulations governing US trade with South Africa will expire in late 1982. Both Congress and the Administration will have to revise or reissue these regulations. There are hopes that the present loopholes in the system will be closed.

"South Africa Has World's 10th Largest Arms Industry." African Defence, July 1982, pp. 50-51.

A very brief history of arms production in South Africa following the UN arms embargo of 1977. Particular attention is paid to the research and development of the new G-5 155-mm gun manufactured by ARMSCOR. The article also contains numerous photos of various ARMSCOR equipment.

SWAZILAND

"Sobhuza's Legacy." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 August-14 September 1982, pp. 6552-54.

Although the death of King Sobhuza in August 1982 after a reign of 60 years leaves Swaziland's political future in question, the new regime has inherited a rather strong and stable economic base on which to build. Swaziland's close relationship with South Africa is credited for this economic strength. The article contains numerous statistics on various aspects of the Swazi economy, especially agriculture. And the article concludes with a summary of long range projects planned for Swaziland.

TANZANIA

Bwana, Steven. "Ujamaa--Is it the Cause of Tanzania's Problems?" Internationales Afrikaforum, vol. 18, no. 2 (1982), pp. 181-84.

The author argues that Tanzania's economic problems are not caused by its economic system and policy of "villagization," as many claim; instead, factors beyond Tanzania's control, such as drought, war, and world economic recession, are to blame.

UGANDA

Campbell, Horace. "The Unholy Alliance of Uganda's Elites." South, June 1982, pp. 23-25.

This article catalogs Uganda's current problems, many of which are characterized by violence. The author believes this violence is the result of "commandism and militarism," religious intolerance, and racism which became established during the colonial period. Uganda's elite must bear some responsibility for furthering the process of retrogression and corruption, however. He is particularly critical of the "unholy alliance" of exiled elites who formed the Uganda National Liberation Front to oust Amin.

ZAIRE

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Mobutu Parle (Mobutu Speaks)." Jeune Afrique, 25 August-1 September 1982, pp. 46-53.

In this candid interview, President Mobutu responds to questions about his personal wealth, his accomplishments as Zairean head of state, his political views, his concept of the OAU and other African leaders, and his hopes for Zaire's economic future.

Schatzberg, Michael G. "Le Mal Zairois: Why Policy Fails in Zaire." African Affairs, July 1982, pp. 337-48.

The new statute on the territorial and administrative organization of Zaire was motivated by the need to: (1) abolish legal distinctions between regional administrative units; (2) create uniform and centrally controlled local units; (3) eviscerate traditional authority of local chiefs; and (4) eliminate fiscal disorders. In general, it was meant to centralize power. Implementation of the new law created confusion since it lacked clarity and remained a point of contention in the countryside. It failed because some chiefs abused their new powers and most chiefs were not sufficiently knowledgeable about the law; but it failed mostly because of societal opposition.

ZIMBABWE

"Zimbabwe: Comrade, Pragmatism Prevails." Africa Confidential, 26 May 1982, pp. 1-5.

The author believes that a very "diluted" form of Marxism eventually will be established in Zimbabwe. This mixture of pragmatism and Marxism should

result in a somewhat stable economy for Zimbabwe. But by far the most serious threats to the nation come from the continuing "lawlessness" arising from the ZAPU/ZANU split and the ever increasing burden on the government bureaucracy, as well as inefficiency and corruption. The article gives Mugabe high marks for his handling of the situation to date. It also gives a good account of various ZANU and ZAPU personalities and their favored policies.

"Zimbabwe: 'Dissident' Campaign Widens." Africa News, 2 August 1982, pp. 3-4.

A summary of incidents reportedly carried out by members of Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU against the government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. The author does not see a solution to the violence in the near future.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in November 1982)

AFRICA GENERAL

Cooper, Frederick. "Africa and the World Economy." The African Studies Review, vol. 24, nos. 2/3 (June/September 1981), pp. 1-86.

In this lengthy examination of the connection of world economy and African production, the author discusses theories within three categories: neo-classical economics and its offshoots, dependency theory and its variants; and Marxist analyses. While there are some similarities between some theories, most are widely divergent. He continues on to look at basic processes throughout African history by which distinct patterns of change may be analyzed, including the colonial slave era, the post-slave trade era, the growth and influence of imperial powers, the colonial agricultural era, the growth of industry, and trends in the present decade.

MacGaffey, Wyatt. "African Ideology and Belief: A Survey." The African Studies Review, vol. 24, nos. 2/3, (June/September 1981), pp. 227-74.

An examination of the approaches to the study of African ideology and belief. The author uses an anthropological perspective to compare the relationship of ideology and belief, dividing the investigation into three themes or theories: the distinction between ideology and belief is invidious and should be transcended, the study of these phenomena has become a historical science, and models of society belong to different cultures and meet different requirements. Analysis of African societies must use the proper analytical tools and concepts.

Ogunbadejo, Oje. "Diego Garcia and Africa's Security." Third World Quarterly, January 1982, pp. 104-20.

Diego Garcia's role in American Indian Ocean strategy is examined, including the viewpoint that the base serves to offset a growing Soviet naval deployment in the region and protects the Middle East and African sources of trade and strategic raw materials. Its role in the Rapid Deployment Force (RDP) is discussed at length, including US relationships with Arab countries; Oman in particular is making three more facilities available to the United States. A series of crisis scenarios is offered in which the author argues that the "Reagan Cold War" approach, along with the Diego Garcia expansion, may make the task of pacific settlement of disputes in the region more difficult because of the dependence of African states of the Indian Ocean on super-powers.

Vanneman, Peter. "Soviet Policy in Southern Africa in 1982: Some Developments and Considerations." Africa Insight, vol. 12, no. 1, 1982, pp. 16-18.

Soviet activities in southern Africa reflect the regime's concern with fashioning policies for areas far from its borders which will maximize its global influence. This region is particularly important to the USSR as a testing ground for refining its power projection capability. For example,

Soviet drydocks have been built in Angola and Mozambique. In 1981, a new cadre of diplomats with greater expertise and experience were sent to southern Africa in large numbers. A typical example of this shift in Soviet strategy occurred in Zambia where Ambassador Solodovnikov, a development economics specialist, was replaced by Cherednik, an expert on international economics and a former Deputy Chief in the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

ANGOLA

Weiss, Ruth. "Angola -- there's a war on." Afrika, vol. 23, no. 5 (1982), pp. 10-11.

Weiss accompanied a 16-member fact finding team from the Second Lome Convention on a tour of Angola. The article describes the widespread economic devastation resulting from 20 years of colonial and civil wars and numerous South African invasions. The author is very critical of South Africa's role in senseless destruction throughout southern Angola.

BURUNDI

Decraene, Philippe. "Le Regime Du Colonel Bagaza Veut Assurer le Developppment Par Le Regroupement Des Paysans (Colonel Bagaza's Regime Seeks a Path to Development by Regrouping the Peasants)." Le Monde, 6 October 1982, p. 7.

The traditional tribal dispute, which has occasionally erupted into the slaughter of Hutus by the minority and ruling Tutsis, has prompted President Bagaza to take steps to put an end to the situation. He has made serious attempts to mediate between the two tribes; but although the law specifies that all are equal, Tutsis dominate the government, army, and administration, and all other aspects of life. Bagaza's grand design is aimed at regrouping the population in rural areas by putting an end to traditional individual hill dwellings. This will be achieved by the strategic placement of infrastructures, electrical lines, water conduits, and schools. This "villagisation" is tied to the rural development plan for improved exportation and to the continuation of foreign aid from Belgium, primarily in the economic area, and from France in the military realm.

CHAD

"Chad: Habre's Strong Hand." Africa Confidential, 22 September 1982, pp. 5-7.

An update of political and military conditions in Chad which has seen Hisssein Habre mount greater successes as he capitalizes on the mistakes of his adversaries. Control of the South, once assumed almost impossible, is already taking place. France's goodwill is almost assured, and Habre's military opponents are scattered and largely ineffective. Remaining politico-military personalities are described and their strengths and weaknesses are assessed.

Soudan, Francois. "Les Chances du President (The President's Chances)." Jeune Afrique, 3 November 1982, pp. 34-35.

An assessment of conditions in Chad where the South has rallied to Hissene Habre's FAN (National Armed Forces) government and the Libyans occupy

Tibesti in the North. Habre has forced a coalition government dominated in numbers by southerners, but one in which all decisionmaking remains in his hands. Given Libyan and Northern support for Goukouni, Habre must rely ever more on the South, and can only succeed as president of a real unified state if he can maintain power and consolidate his government's power.

CONGO

"Congo 1982." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 2 July 1982, pp. 1741-1882.

This comprehensive and detailed overview of the Congo's economy includes information on the agricultural and industrial sectors, infrastructure development, trade relations, the tourist industry, social structure, and the financial sector.

DJIBOUTI

"Gouled Gets His Way." Africa, July 1982, pp. 37-38.

Djibouti's first general elections since its independence were held in May. President Gouled's party, the Popular Rally for Progress (RPP) and the only party permitted, received 90.7 percent of the votes. Gouled now feels he has received a vote of confidence for his ideas of ending tribalism and building a sense of national unity. The new assembly and cabinet have been carefully balanced with virtually equal numbers of Afars and Issas. Afar resentment of the government for its arrest of Afar leaders who had tried to form a second party and feelings of underrepresentation remain, however.

ETHIOPIA

"Three Revolts for Secession." Africa, September 1982, pp. 13-14.

The leadership, strength, and activities of the various armed groups which are trying to secede from Ethiopia are described. The Eritrean guerrillas continue to pose a serious threat to the current government, as they have to all Ethiopian administrations since the early 1960s.

GUINEA

Cort, Leon Lloyd. The Quest for Socio-Economic and Political Change in Guinea: Aspects of the Political Ideology of Ahmed Sekou Toure. Cited in Dissertation Abstracts International, vol. 43, no. 1 (July 1982), pp. 251-2A.

Despite Guinea's much less than spectacular economic development, the country has undergone fundamental social change which makes it unique in Africa. Choosing a Socialist, fiercely independent and anticolonial path, President Sekou Toure has placed his stamp on Guinea's political and social development. Despite widespread opposition, Toure has been a master manipulator and has skillfully maintained relative political stability.

IVORY COAST

Dahmani, Abdelaziz. "Inquietude a Abidjan (Anxiety in Abidjan)." Jeune Afrique, 20 October 1982, pp. 28-29.

Abidjan continues to sprout skyscrapers amidst signs of severe economic problems. The lower classes, especially foreign laborers, are suffering from unemployment, while resentment against ostentation, especially from foreigners, has forced wealthy expatriates to tone down their lifestyle. One positive note is that economic difficulties have taken the focus off presidential succession. Prospects for the future, especially US investment and exploitation of Ivory Coast's petroleum wealth, are presently helping people think of the future. At the same time, corruption and speculation are becoming socially unacceptable.

"Ivory Coast: After Houphouet-Boigny." Africa Confidential, 22 September 1982, pp. 1-5.

A detailed assessment of politics and the continuing nervousness over succession to Ivory Coast's aging president, Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Ethnic and personality factors merge in the analysis which highlights Ivory Coast's worsening economic situation and relates it to what may be an impending crisis.

Taleb, S. "En Attendant 1985. . . (Waiting For 1985. . .)." Jeune Afrique, 15 September 1982, pp. 24-26.

The economic crisis in Ivory Coast appears more serious than previously believed. A crisis of confidence in Ivory Coast's economy adversely affects the political scene. The promise of oil wealth is an ever distant hope as competition between Americans and French complicate the Ivory Coast Government's relations with the petroleum explorers. Also, 1985 promised to be an election year in which President Houphouet-Boigny will run with an heir designate vice president. With higher aspirations than many other Africans, Ivorians are also vulnerable to greater fears.

MADAGASCAR

Malley, Simon. "Didier Ratsiraka: Des Verites a Dire (Didier Ratsiraka Speaks the Truth)." Afrique-Asie, 19 July 1982, pp. 22-25.

In this interview, the popular Malagasy president, Didier Ratsiraka, responds to questions on international issues, especially those of Lebanon and Chad, and on the scheduled OAU meeting in Tripoli.

Regnauld, Herve. "Antananarivo." Freres d'Armes, September/October 1982, pp. 4-10.

In a series of articles on capital cities, the author examines the environment, history, and friends of each city. Following an overview of Antananarivo's history, which includes its economic, industrial, and population development, a description of the current urbanization plan designed to absorb and utilize its diverse human resources is outlined.

MALAWI

Pietila, Antero. "Tightly Run Malawi Can Boast of Success." The Sun, 4 October 1982. Reprinted in AF Press Clips, 8 October 1982, pp. 3, 4, and 9.

Since independence in 1964, Dr. Banda has ruled Malawi with the hand of a benevolent dictator who controls the economy through a network of private companies which he owns as a trustee for the country. Under his rule, Malawi has become a modern country which is agriculturally self-sufficient, has functioning modern conveniences, but which pays the price for development by maintaining formalities with South Africa.

MAURITANIA

Kane, Hamidou Baba. "Ombres et Lumieres (Shadows and Lights)." Afrique, May 1982, pp. 93-94.

Since the change of regime in July 1978, the emphasis in Mauritania is shifting from the military to the economic sector. The National Military Salvation Committee (CMSN) has shown itself willing to concentrate the nation's efforts on reconstruction and development. The conflict in the Western Sahara is viewed as the primary cause behind the slow but extensive deterioration of the economic situation. To support this charge, in 1978 alone military expenditures absorbed 60 percent of the national budget.

MOZAMBIQUE

Meyns, Peter. "Liberation Ideology and National Development Strategy in Mozambique." Review of African Political Economy, October-December 1981, pp. 62-64.

In analyzing the process of transforming liberation ideology into national development underway in Mozambique since 1975, objective and subjective factors, the colonial legacy and liberation ideology itself are of relevance. After outlining Mozambique's post-independence development, the article examines key areas of political mobilization and organization, and the state sector and rural development since 1975.

Wolfers, Michael. "The Battle Against Underdevelopment: New Ways of Working." People's Power, Summer 1982, pp. 3-8.

In April 1982, a delegation from the Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea Information Center (MAGIC) in Britain was invited to Mozambique to visit economic and social institutions in five cities. The delegation observed that considerable investment in industrial, agricultural and infrastructural projects has been undertaken in the face of both intrinsic difficulties and South African aggression. The development plan, with a target date of 1990, has a better chance of succeeding here than in many other countries because of the skills of workers used by the leadership and experimentation. Communal villages are being formed and improved, and heavy industry, though slow to develop, will be a part of the country's future, the delegation concluded.

NIGER

Triaud, Jean-Louis. "L'Islam et l'Etat en Republique du Niger (Islam and the State in the Republic of Niger)." Le Mois en Afrique, nos. 192-193 (December 1981-January 1982), pp. 9-26; and nos. 194-195 (January-February 1982), pp. 35-48.

A detailed analysis of the evolution of Islam in Niger which, after Mauritania, is the most predominantly Muslim francophone country. Islam in Niger is closely associated with the government and has both guided the state and been guided by the state in supportive roles. Clearly modernizing and reformist, Islam in the 1970s was marked by a rapid expansion of learning in Arabic and construction of schools which specialized in teaching Islamic tenets in Arabic. Arabic has taken an important place alongside French.

REUNION

"La Reunion." Marches Tropicaus et Mediterraneens, 2 March 1981, pp. 743-50.

A thorough economic review of Reunion, including a brief history, a description of the Eighth Economic Plan, the sugar cane industry, agricultural methods, industrial production, and projections for future endeavors.

SENEGAL

O'Brien, Donal Cruise. "La Filiere Musulmane: Confreries Soufies et Politique en Afrique Noire (The Muslim Path: Sufi Brotherhood and Politics in Black Africa)." Politique Africaine, vol. 1, no. 4 (November 1981), pp. 7-31.

The history of Sufi brotherhoods in Black Africa is one of accommodation and opposition to European colonization. Adapting to spiritual and economic necessities under European rule, the brotherhoods amassed great political and economic power. Today, they have the power to confront the secular nationalism of post-independence governments. With the Iranian example before him, the author sees Sufi marabouts as capable of assembling followers in the name of anti-Westernism.

SOMALIA

"The Spectre of War." Africa, August 1982, pp. 12-13.

Somali claims and Ethiopian counterclaims about the fighting in Somalia are given. The author views the US decision to send a limited quantity of arms to Somalia as an attempt to warn Ethiopia not to invade Somalia further and as a desire not to become too closely linked with the unpopular and unstable Barre regime.

SOUTH AFRICA

Birkby, Carel. "Operation Protea Flushes Out Russians in Angola." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), October 1981, p. 10.

During the September 1981 incursion into Angola (code named Operation Protea), the South African Defense Force found proof of close Soviet involvement with SWAPO and the Angolan armed forces. The article provides biographical data on Soviet personnel serving in Angola.

"The Bophuthatswana Defense Force." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), October 1981, pp. 18-19.

A short overview of the development and organization of the defense force for the Bophuthatswana homeland. The article contains several good photos of the force.

Heitman, Helmoed-Roemer. "Artillery Applications." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), October 1981, pp. 15-16.

A theoretical analysis of artillery applications in the conflict in southern Africa. Particular attention is paid to the newly developed South African-manufactured G-5 gun and the self-propelled 127-mm multiple rocket launcher.

Lillie, Ashley C. "The Origins and Development of the South African Army." Militaria (Pretoria), vol. 12, no. 2 (1982), pp. 7-17.

A history of the South African Army from 1910 to 1982. Sergeant Lillie is attached to the Sub-section Enquiries, Military Information Section of the South African Defense Force.

"The New Generation of South African Military Vehicles." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), August 1981, pp. 17-24.

A rather detailed description of 13 locally manufactured South African military vehicles. The article also includes numerous photos of the equipment.

"Some Strategic Considerations Regarding Namibia." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), March 1982, p. 16.

This report, prepared by the Institute of Strategic Studies of the University of Pretoria, discusses possible scenarios for South Africa following Namibian independence. The bulk of the article focuses on what would happen if a pro-Soviet SWAPO government is installed in Windhoek, especially vis-a-vis the ANC and Walvis Bay.

"Southern Air Command's Photographic Section: The Men Who Work the Shutters." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), March 1982, pp. 17-19, 21.

A rather comprehensive look at the South African Air Force's photo reconnaissance capabilities. The article discusses the training, equipment,

and mission of the Photographic Section; it also contains several excellent examples of photos of Soviet ships near the Cape.

"Spoils of War." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), October 1981, pp. 21-24.

A full and detailed inventory of the Soviet-, Brazilian-, Polish-, East German-, and West German-manufactured vehicles, weaponry, and equipment captured by the South African Defense Force during Operation Protea into southern Angola in September 1981.

Van Niekerk, Willem. "The Frigate in the SA Navy." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), January 1982, pp. 13-14.

Looks at changes in South Africa's naval strategy as the last of the South African Navy's frigates is retired from service. The author somewhat laments the loss of these large ships, especially since they were the seaborne platforms for South Africa's antisubmarine Wessex helicopters. Likewise, these frigates formed the basis of South Africa's "deep sea" naval capabilities.

Van Niekerk, Willem. "The Naval Milieu and the RSA." Armed Forces (Johannesburg), April 1982, pp. 17-19.

Advocates strengthening South Africa's naval capabilities to meet the growing threat of a Soviet naval presence in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Specifically, the author would like to greatly expand South Africa's antisubmarine capabilities, including large deep-sea ships, submarines and aircraft.

Ward, E. H. "Swifter Than Eagles." Militaria (Pretoria), vol. 12, no. 2 (1982), pp. 18-30.

A history of the South African Air Force from 1912 to 1982. Lieutenant Ward is a naval pilot attached to the Military Information Bureau of the South African Defense Force (SADF).

SUDAN

"Nimeiri Courts Armed Forces." Africa, June 1982, pp. 32-33.

Nimeiri started "putting his military house in order" in April after having dismissed his Minister of Defense and Chief of the Army and retiring 22 other senior military officers earlier in the year. To bolster his support in the armed forces he has since promoted dozens of high ranking officers. While touring northern military installations he announced the formation of a Military Economic Corporation to take care of the army's economic interests. In the South he promised an army university. Nonetheless, tension is increasing in the South. In one incident 23 lieutenant colonels refused to take a course they were called for because it was only offered in Arabic. They said they didn't know enough Arabic and the course should be given in English. They felt their promotions were being sabotaged.

UGANDA

Jorgensen, Jan Jelmert. Uganda: A Modern History. London: Croom Helm, 1981. Reviewed by Will Kaberuka in the Journal of Modern African Studies, June 1982, pp. 345-47.

This book gives an account of Uganda's history since colonial times. Its emphasis is on economic development--Jorgensen uses a "structural dependence" paradigm in his interpretation of events. The epilog gives a useful account of the struggle for control by various factions within the Uganda National Liberation Front after Amin's fall.

"Refugee Troubles Mount." Africa News, 25 October 1982, pp. 6-7.

Problems with refugees have flared up in Uganda during October. Ugandan refugees who fled to Kenya during Amin's regime are being forcibly repatriated at the rate of about 100 a day. Uganda has been accused of conducting a campaign against the approximately 100,000 Rwandan refugees living in Uganda, forcing them to leave their homes and move to refugee camps. Uganda claims the Rwandans are choosing to return to Rwanda now that peace prevails there.

"Uganda Looks Toward National Rebirth." Africa News, 4 October 1982, pp. 1-3, 10.

Uganda is currently fighting three wars for its survival: the war against antigovernment guerrillas; the "economic war" which is necessary to rehabilitate the economy; and the government's urgent need to improve its public image. The government still has a long way to go to end guerrilla activity and officials feel little economic headway can be made while guerrillas continue their attacks.

UPPER VOLTA

Latremoliere, Jacques. "Haute-Volta: Un Effort Necessaire de l'Aide Internationale (Upper Volta: A Necessary Effort for International Assistance)." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 20 August 1982, pp. 2293-96.

Although the article repeats the generally gloomy outlook for Upper Volta's economy, it does give important information and insights into the uniqueness of the country and its institutions. The trade union movement which is so important to Upper Volta's political life resulted from Catholic proselytizing and the relatively high educational training of the clergy in Upper Volta. Additionally, because Upper Volta became independent under austere conditions, class divisions are not as wide as in many other African countries. Upper Volta, according to the author, is not responsible for the boundaries which were imposed on it and it is not totally without potential mineral wealth. Its problems must be understood and potential investors and international assistance programs must prove that they are willing to take risks to be effective.

ZAIRE

Depelchin, Jacques. "The Transformations of the Petty Bourgeoisie and the State in Post-Colonial Zaire." Review of African Political Economy, October-December 1981, pp. 20-41.

In this overview of the changing character of class relations in Zaire, the author traces the origins and development of the Zairean bourgeoisie. A distinction is made between the "rising" or "new" bourgeoisie and the "state" bourgeoisie, and an analysis is included of the struggle for control of the state between the two. International capital seems to reinforce the position of the state bourgeoisie, but the changing economic policies of the Mobutu regime creates contradictions. The author argues that the tendency on the left to view Zaire as the personal and corrupt fiefdom of Mobutu is inaccurate without proper consideration of obstacles to Socialist change embedded in developing capitalist relations.

"Mobuto's Opponents Gather Strength." Africa Now, September 1982, pp. 41-42.

A new political party, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS), is gaining support in Zaire despite Mobutu's attempts to suppress its leaders. Mobutu is also losing international backing from African countries, because of reopened diplomatic relations with Israel; Western countries, because of his refusal of US financial aid and subsequent insulting remarks to the Reagan administration; Belgium, because it disapproves of the trial and jailing of UDPS leaders in June; and China, which treated Mobutu with minimal attention during his visit there in June. ✓

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in December 1982)

AFRICA GENERAL

Day, Alan J., ed. Border and Territorial Disputes. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1982, 406 pp. Reviewed in The Friday Review of Defense Literature, 3 December 1982, p. 4.

This reference book provides concise historical, political and geographical material about border and territorial disputes in the Middle East and Africa. Situations are arranged alphabetically in geographical sections. The authors also present more recent exchanges and negotiations between contentious parties as of June 1982.

Dunn, Michael C. "On the Edge of Dynamism: West Africa Begins to Define Its Strategic Needs." Defense & Foreign Affairs, September 1982, pp. 6-9.

This article looks at the changing shape of the defense market for the countries of West Africa and examines the new trends by which several countries, particularly Nigeria, are diversifying their sources of arms supply from ex-colonial powers to other world suppliers.

Gann, L. H. and Duignan, Peter. African South of the Sahara: The Challenge to Western Security. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1981, 114 pp.

A slanted view of Africa which disproportionately treats southern African affairs. The authors believe that the Soviets, Cubans, and East Germans have made considerable headway in winning influence in Africa and have designs on the continent's wealth and strategic location. Furthermore, they cast South Africa in an extremely favorable light, recommending greater US use of South Africa's military bases to protect the Cape route. Neither rigorously researched nor objectively presented.

Laidi, Zaki. "Les Problemes de Consolidation de l'Influence Sovietique en Afrique (The Problems of Consolidating Soviet Influence in Africa)." Politique Africaine, September 1982, pp. 82-90.

According to the author, the Soviets are maintaining the East-West conflict through their attempts to counter US actions in Africa. The Soviets' inability to provide economic aid forces their allies to deal with the West. This attempt to separate political and economic realities is a basic contradiction in Marxist ideology.

Leistner, G. M. E. "Towards A Regional Development Strategy For Southern Africa." The South African Journal of Economics, vol. 49, no. 4 (December 1981), pp. 349-64.

This paper was presented at the biennial conference of the Economic Society of South Africa in Durban, September 1981. Leistner states that in the long run prosperous and stable countries throughout southern Africa will best serve regional interests. However, political differences, widespread instability, and armed conflicts in the region have prevented cooperation between

South Africa and its neighbors. Instead of cooperation, two competing economic groups have emerged--the South African-sponsored Constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS) and the anti-South African Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). A way must be found, the author contends, to overcome the present differences and to expand economic cooperation and development.

Matatu, Godwin. "Africa's New Pestilence." Africa, September 1982, pp. 12-14.

In no less than ten African states, governments are fighting undeclared wars with groups of their own nationals. These dissident movements fall into three categories: those fighting for secession, as in the three wars being fought in Ethiopia; those wishing to change governments for various reasons, as in Somalia and Uganda; and the uniquely southern African movements which are adjuncts of South Africa's destabilization policy, as in Mozambique, Angola and Lesotho. The article continues with an examination of the Eritrean secession struggle.

"Les Operations Amphibies en Milieu Cotier d'Afrique (Amphibious Operations in the Coastal Environment of Africa)." Freres d'Armes, September-October 1982, pp. 18-26.

The article reported on amphibious operations by the French 43rd Marine Infantry Battalion stationed in Ivory Coast. The zone of operations was the Guinea Coast which encompasses the African coastal region from Liberia to Gabon. Types of operations and specific terrain conditions are detailed and assistance by the army and air force is described.

Ramaro, Elie. "Les Iles Soeurs (The Sister Islands)." Jeune Afrique, 25 October 1982, pp. 36-39.

At the suggestion of Mauritius, for the first time the southwest Indian Ocean islands of Madagascar, Mauritius, the Seychelles, and Reunion have come together to form a permanent Indian Ocean commission. An earlier effort in 1978 to establish a forum failed because of economic dependence and fears of endangering relations with former colonial powers, and inconsistencies between the islands in economic and political spheres. But in the last few months a new progressive leftist party came to power in Mauritius which emphasized nonalignment, reinforcement of ties with European powers, and better relations with African and Indian Ocean countries. These factors, paired with the increasing economic peril facing most of the islands, has brought an awareness of the need for regional cooperation.

ANGOLA

Stevenson, Merrill. "Angola Builds for the Future." Africa Economic Digest, 13 August 1982, pp. 2-3.

A rather optimistic article concerning Angola's potential for economic development. Despite the Luanda regime's leftist leanings, Angola continues to trade extensively with the West. Economic pragmatism rather than ideological purity will help Angola to reestablish itself as one of Africa's leading economic powers.

BOTSWANA

"Botswana: Military Destabilization Reviewed." FOCUS On Political Repression in Southern Africa (London), July-August 1982, p. 12.

Gives details of numerous South African "destabilization" acts against the Botswana government, including border violations, illegal overflights, kidnapings, infiltration, and recruitment of Botswana citizens for service with the South African Armed Forces in Namibia.

"Botswana Survey." Africa Now, September 1982, pp. 97-98, 101 and 103.

Despite the recent decline in diamond earnings and the impact of a severe drought on agriculture, the long range economic picture for Botswana looks good.

CAMEROON

Diallo, Siradiou. "Les Secrets du Depart d'Ahidjo (The Secrets of Ahidjo's 'Departure)." Jeune Afrique, 17 November 1982, pp. 33-38, 43-45.

The sudden resignation of Ahmadou Ahidjo from the Presidency took the country and the world by surprise. For most Cameroonians the immediate reaction was fear that order would soon collapse, but the appointment and succession of Paul Biya proceeded smoothly. Many assumed that Ahidjo was seriously ill, but others speculated that though he has received treatment for throat cancer, the transfer of power was the result of Ahidjo's desire to ensure a smooth transition with the man of his choice as the new head of state. This article also contains an inside account of events in the country following the resignation.

Diallo, Siradiou. "Le Cameroun que Laisse Ahidjo (The Cameroon Ahidjo Left)." Jeune Afrique, 1 December 1982, pp. 47-54.

Although Ahidjo was not the first African leader to resign voluntarily as head of state, at 58 he was relatively young to do so. He left behind a country prepared more for continuity than for change, as the new Biya government has demonstrated thus far. Ahidjo also left behind a country in the midst of expanding its oil production while not ignoring its agricultural development, an Ahidjo priority. The result is one of the most dynamic countries in Africa.

CHAD

Doornbos, P. "La Revolution Derapee. La Violence dans l'Est du Tchad (1978-1981) (The Revolution Wrenched Aside. Violence in East Chad [1978-81]."Politique Africaine, September 1982, pp. 5-13.

Eastern Chad shares many affinities with the Darfur region of Sudan. During the long Chadian civil war, which sprouted many liberation movements, the people of this region responded to calls by various would-be liberation leaders. However, what has resulted has been violent attacks and vendettas in which all vestiges of government, including health clinics and schools,

have been destroyed. Many traditional forces have been resurrected, but the struggle has insured that some social and political changes have taken place.

CONGO

Verre, Patrice. "A La Croisee des Chemins (At the Crossroads)." Afrique, August 1982, pp. 29-30.

The Congo, a country of paradoxes, displays a patchwork of East and West influences. The armed forces are aided by 600 Soviet advisers, 100 East Germans, and 3,000 Cubans in various roles, and yet French exports to the Congo have doubled recently. One of the causes of the "pollution" of the socialist revolution is oil and the sudden wealth it has brought. Nonetheless, the country is plagued by problems in other production sectors and, more seriously, by groups protesting increasing economic ties to the West.

ETHIOPIA

"Fighting to Change." Sudanow, October 1982, pp. 15 and 17.

This article describes recent developments in Tigray Province. The author spent several months last summer with the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). He gives an account of recent military developments in the region and of economic and social changes taking place in TPLF-controlled areas.

GUINEA

Blancart, Anne and Alata, Jean-Paul. "Entretien Avec Jean-Paul Alata (Interview With Jean-Paul Alata)." Politique Africaine, September 1982, pp. 17-39.

An informative interview with the late Jean-Paul Alata, a former associate of Guinea's President Sekou Toure and subsequently a political prisoner. Insights into the evolution of the repressive regime of Toure are gained from the article as well as the revolutionary commitment of many Guinean and Frenchmen who also found themselves imprisoned by their former comrade.

LIBERIA

Sesay, L. "Le Coup d'Etat du Liberia: Facteurs Internes et Effets Regionaux (The Liberian Coup d'Etat: Internal Factors and Regional Effects)." Politique Africaine, September 1982, pp. 91-106.

The military coup in Liberia effectively marks the end of Americo-Liberian domination and the rise of the indigenous peoples. After 1979, currents in Liberia indicated that the minority regime's hold was weakening. Following Sergeant Doe's accession to power, Liberia's internal and foreign policies have been greatly influenced by attitudes of its neighbors. Close personal relations between executed former President Tolbert and other African leaders adversely affected positive reaction to the military coup. Guinea accepted the change easily, but Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast proved more reluctant. Relations with the Ivory Coast remain tenuous because of family ties between the families of Houphouet-Boigny and Tolbert, but the coup has been accepted as fact.

MADAGASCAR

"Special Madagascar." Asie-Afrique, 31 October 1982, pp. 12-57.

This series of articles includes: an interview with President Didier Ratsiraka in which he talks about his concept of socialism and his hopes for the country; an analysis of the various Malagasy political parties and their leaders; a special section on Monja Jaona; and a discussion of the development plans in the agricultural, commercial, industrial, and economic sectors.

NAMIBIA

Holness, Marga. "Namibia: Pretoria Hides Behind 'Linkage'." Africa, September 1982, pp. 35-36.

A critical article of the South African policy linking the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and South African troops from Namibia. The article also is critical of the United States for supporting Pretoria's policies. An insert entitled "Worries Over Namibia's Borrowing" discusses the long-term implications of Namibia's large outstanding national debt, especially since SWAPO may have to accept this debt to South Africa as part of a Namibian independence settlement.

Robins, Jane. "Private Army, Public Nuisance." Africa, August 1982, pp. 56-58.

A study of Namibia's "private armies." Particular attention is given to the Rio Tinto Zinc company's "industrial commandos." Groups like this, as well as local vigilantes, are closely linked with the South African Defense Force in Namibia. This "auxiliary army" is about half the size of the official army. The article notes Rio Tinto Zinc's exploitation of Namibia's and other countries' mineral wealth.

NIGERIA

Adejuyigbe, Onolade; Dare, Leo; and Adepoju, Aderanti, eds. Creation of States in Nigeria--A Review of Rationale, Demands and Problems. Lagos, Nigeria's: Federal Government Printer. Reviewed in the Africa Research Bulletin, 1982. p. 6635.

Discusses one of the most important issues on Nigeria's national agenda, the creation of new states. The book is the culmination of research presented at the 1981 Annual Conference of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ife. Provides a large volume of information and opinion.

Gbulie, Ben. Nigeria's Five Majors. Onitsha, Nigeria: Africana Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1979. Reviewed in African Defence, October 1982.

Captain Ben Gbulie, one of the key planners and executors of the coup d'etat of 15 January 1966, gives a first-hand, factual account of the events which ended Nigeria's First Republic.

SOMALIA

"Why Barre is in Trouble." Africa, August 1982, pp. 14-15.

Criticism of Barre, particularly in the North, is growing. Barre has reacted to this by relying increasingly on his own ethnic group, especially in the military, and in finance-connected government posts. Although Barre is officially committed to ending tribalism, his actions have not contributed toward this goal.

SOUTH AFRICA

Bailey, Martin. "Oil life-line for Apartheid." Africa, September 1982, pp. 48 and 57-58.

Despite the United Nation's oil embargo against South Africa, over 90 percent of South Africa's oil is imported. The bulk of the article's facts are drawn from a 1982 report published by the Amsterdam-based Shipping Research Bureau. The Bureau names the international oil companies and the specific tankers involved in these illegal shipments. In conclusion, unless stiff penalties are imposed against this trade, South Africa will have no problems purchasing oil.

Crabbe, Raoul. "Une importance strategique opportune (A Convenient Strategic Importance)." Remarques (Belgium), no. 533 (1982), pp. 28-29.

Crabbe gives a realistic and practical explanation of why the United States and the West maintain relatively close relations with South Africa despite its racial policies. First, the Cape route is used by most large oil tankers en route from the Persian Gulf to Europe and the United States. Secondly, South Africa is one of the world's leading producers of rare strategic minerals. Furthermore, many of southern Africa's mineral exports travel through South Africa's ports. Finally, in the event of a major conflict between East and West, South Africa's ports and navy could play an important role in the struggle to dominate both the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

Gibbs, George. "The Value of South Africa to NATO." Naval Forces, vol. 3, no. 117 (1982), pp. 12-16.

A pro-South African article which outlines the benefits that NATO could derive from South Africa in an "emergency situation." Although Gibbs discusses the entire South African Defence Force (SADF), he primarily focuses on the potential benefits of South Africa's navy and excellent ports in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

Klare, Michael T. "Evading the Embargo: Illicit U.S. Arms Transfers to South Africa." Journal of International Affairs, vol. 35, no. 1 (Summer 1981), pp. 13-28.

A well documented and detailed study of arms and arms-technology transfer from the United States to South Africa. The article also discusses the long-term effects that this transfer will have on US policy and credibility vis-a-vis the UN arms embargo.

Tutu, Desmond. The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness. London: Mobray & Co., 1981. Cited in Africa, July 1982, p. 68.

A collection of Bishop Tutu's speeches, sermons, articles, and press releases since he was appointed General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). Bishop Tutu is one of South Africa's most influential and outspoken black critics of apartheid.

"U.S./South Africa: Congress To Probe Shock Baton Sale." Africa News, 18 October 1982, pp. 5-7.

A detailed account of the sale of 2,500 US-made police batons to a South African firm. This sale reportedly violates the current UN and US arms embargo against South Africa. As a result of this "slip-up," Congress plans to hold hearings on the issue in late 1982 or early 1983.

SUDAN

Baynard, Sally Ann. "The United States and the Sudan's Strategic Dilemma." Middle East Insight, May 1982, pp. 42-47.

Current US policy toward Sudan is based on strategic and ideological concerns with little attention given to economic and domestic political problems. The author gives an outline of Sudan's relations with its neighbors. Threats from many of them undermine Sudan's stability. Baynard contends that the United States should greatly increase its economic aid since a stable and economically sound Sudan would not offer as much opportunity for spillover conflicts, harassment, or attack by its neighbors. Providing Sudan with sophisticated weapons, which it would have difficulty absorbing and maintaining, would not increase Sudan's stability. Military assistance would be better spent on Egypt, since Egyptian military assistance would be Sudan's only realistic hope in the case of an external assault.

Wai, Dustan M. The African-Arab Conflict in the Sudan. New York: Africana, 1981, 234 pp. Reviewed in African Affairs, October 1982, pp. 595-96.

The basic assertion of this book is that the Sudan is an artificial mosaic of two groups with radically different social and cultural backgrounds. The author presents a history of Sudan to demonstrate the depth of the African-Arab divide. There are also chapters on "Praetorian Politics and Civil War" and on the importance of the international community in the conflict. The book gives little attention to other significant divisions among the Sudanese.

TANZANIA

Honey, Martha. "Tanzania: Conference of a New Type." Africa Now, November 1982, pp. 29 and 31.

The second National Conference of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Tanzania's ruling party, was held in October. Unlike the previous conference which was a ritualistic affair of rallies and voting by acclamation, this one was

marked by lengthy deliberations and secret ballot voting. The article describes how the CCM has been restructured following new party guidelines and amendments to the party constitution adopted in January 1982.

UGANDA

"Rebels and Rampage." Africa, September 1982, pp. 19-20 and 25.

Uganda's three main armed dissident groups are described in this article. Obote's government appears to be gaining the upper hand and the impact of these dissident groups seems to be diminishing. However, there are several warlords in the country, each controlling a military fiefdom, who are difficult to deal with. It is these, Ugandan officials say, who go on senseless rampages in scattered parts of the country; they neither have a pattern nor strategy, and their targets range from innocent villagers to government forces.

ZAIRE

Matutu, Godwin. "The Star of David and Mobutu's Torch." Africa, July 1982, pp. 44-46.

When Mobutu announced that Zaire would restore diplomatic relations with Israel in May, it was the first breach of the position collectively adopted by Africa following the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Mobutu explained that the reasons for the break no longer apply since the Jewish occupation of African territories in Egypt has ended. But the real reason, many believe, is Mobutu's need to flex Zaire's muscle in Africa. The consequent breaking off of relations with Zaire by almost the whole Arab and Islamic world was met with derision by Mobutu who claims that Arab-African solidarity is a trap. Sub-Saharan African nations objected to Zaire's moves on the grounds of Israeli military aid to South Africa.

ZIMBABWE

"Friendly Business Relations." Commerce (Harare), March 1982, pp. 11, 13, and 15.

Mr. Wu Ming-Sui, Commercial Secretary in the Chinese Embassy in Harare, discusses expanding Chinese-Zimbabwean commercial ties at length in this interview with Commerce magazine. The article contains standard political rhetoric and platitudes as well as some insights into the development of good relations between Harare and Beijing.

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